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(*in press*)

FACTS ABOUT INDIA

By

ISHWARA TOPA, D. PHIL
OSMANIA UNIVERSITY, HYDERABAD (DN.)

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DEDICATED WITH
AFFECTION AND GRATITUDE
TO
THE MEMORY OF
LATE SIR ROSS MASOOD

FOREWORD

Dr. Ishwara Topa is no stranger to students of Indian history and culture. In his book he examines the communal problem of India and seeks to throw new light on it. His book is written with a definite end in view—the solution of the minority problem in the country.

The plan of the book is a comprehensive socio-political study of India, Province by Province. In defence of his provincial approach, the author contends that India as a nation is a sentimental idea, but on the other hand, the provinces of India are like the countries of Europe, different cultural nations; and in his view, the proper basis of a theory of nationality in India should be regional, not religious. This is surely an overstatement, though it contains an important element of truth. Despite striking differences between various parts of the country, there is a unity of design which has impressed the stamp of oneness on the civilisation of India. Unity of thought and sentiment transcends provincial barriers. But, as Dr. Topa himself says, emphasis on religion as the basis of nationality is interrupting the process of cultural integration and is fixing a great and ever widening gulf between the principal communities. It is with trembling hope, therefore, that men of moderation and goodwill pray that the Indian genius for synthesis, “working through all the ages and leaving behind its hallmark on all historical periods,” may revive and may heal our calamitous differences.

It is the hope of the author that functional representation might serve as a prophylactic against communal reaction. His argument is that the people of India are distributed not in communities but in economic group-units, that the functional interests of the people are not only abiding and permanent but also above religions and communities, and that it is these economic group-units that should form the foundation of a new constitution to be built on the principles of functionalism.

Though functionalism has gained general acceptance among certain political thinkers, whether it alone can solve the communal problem is a question which cannot yet be satisfactorily answered. Nevertheless, Dr. Ishwara Topa has made an attempt at constructive thinking in order to solve what is, perhaps, the most complex and baffling minority problem in the world. His effort is praiseworthy and deserves the consideration of students of politics and leaders in public life.

Jaipur

October 3, 1943

MIRZA M. ISMAIL

ANALYSIS

It is true that the facts about India will speak for themselves; but it is in the fitness of things to throw some light on the genesis of "*Facts About India*."

To begin with, the author professes no political creed, belongs to no political movement and holds no communal brief. As a student of Indian history and culture he has given his undivided attention and thought to the political problem of India. Since Pakistan as a scheme of political alignment has been discussed and debated all over the country, he has also interested himself in its problem. The idea that has impelled him to take up its study was to find out on the basis of factual data how far Pakistan is applicable to areas or regions on the actual distribution of population by religion. This was the beginning of the undertaking that slowly shaped itself into "*Facts About India*."

After having laboured for a couple of years the author has arrived at the following basic conclusions on the basis of socio-political facts:

1. To comprehend or estimate the real India it is but essential to understand and solve the problems of the Provinces because India is not provinces but the Provinces form India.

2. The importance of the Provinces of India lies in the fact that they are not provinces but countries like those of Europe with their different cultural nations. This fact reveals that India is composed of countries in

which not only two 'nations'—Hindu and Muslim—but many cultural nations live. The conception of India as a nation seems, on the basis of facts, to be a figment of imagination, a sentimental idea and a non-reality that cannot be proved by sociological data. This has complicated the whole political problem of India. The different communities fighting for the mastery and control of political power do not form a nation of India. Hindus and Muslims as 'communities' or 'nations' do not solve but intricate the problem of politics and government. The demarcation of national regions on the basis of Provinces as States will solve many a knotty politico-economic problem. In the light of Pakistan to demarcate or segregate them as distinct political units on the basis of race or religion is impossible; but to transform Provinces into States on the basis of provincial culture and language is feasible and a way-out of difficulties that are being faced in politics and government. The obvious reason is that the so-called Provinces are the homes of millions of peoples of all religions and occupations and the cultures of the Provinces are still the living legacies of the people, irrespective of race, creed or caste. To judge India or to solve her socio-cultural and politico-economic problems from an all-India standpoint is to make matters worse confounded. The principle of political estimate or evaluation of communities on an all-India basis is a line of approach that distorts hard facts—social, ethnic, religious, economic, political, linguistic and cultural. India as a whole can serve no basis for the solution of her Provinces as 'States' that can bring about political progress, economic development and prosperity, social amity and harmony among people and people and cultural integration.

3. Facts about India conclusively bring out the importance of the continual domination of urban India over rural India. In other words, it means the complete domination of certain sections of people or classes as urban interests. When the British Parliament concedes self-government to India, it should not mean the rule of the few but of the people of India. As a pliable instrument in the hands of skilful politicians and statesmen in the framework of political democracy, they will be dominated by party interests of majority rule leading to complications in communal, inter-communal and intra-communal matters. Such politics and government in India will witness the reign of communalism. It will be another name for tyranny by the microscopic minorities—though powerful and vocal—of each religion. The people of India as communities do not exist politically, economically, linguistically and culturally. The Hindu or Muslim 'nation' is a dangerous contrivance for political exploitation in the interest of the minorities of major religions.

4. The real people of India as different people of 'States' embracing all religions and all occupations are distributed in economic group-units. The author, after having made a comprehensive study of the subject, feels that the conclusion is inescapable that functionalism as a principle of political representation is the only rational basis for political adjustment and progress, because all political schools in India have failed to achieve national solidarity. India is all the more disrupted today than she ever was. Politics stands for compromise and commonsense viewpoint of life. The political parties of India are playing their own high stakes. Their political non-realism is preposterous. They have not eased the

situation. It is all a huge bungling of socio-political facts all over and all through the country. Principles clash with counter-principles in the world of Indian politics. The dread of majority rule of government in the form of political democracy is hovering like a ghost. The clamour of 'political' minorities is considered non-sensical and stiff-neckedness. Even the demands of minorities are most irrational and erratic. The political deadlock is the result of antagonism, fear and suspicion. The communalistic principle in politics and government since 1909 has worked up the spirit of mutual rivalry among political communities. Its anti-climax is Pakistan. Such is the situation in India. Communities are masquerading as political parties of different shades of ideology. Their divergent aims assist in widening the gulf of differences between people and people. The majority communities want to have their own way and dominate ruthlessly. The minority communities seek shelter from the majority rule. India's political fate is in the cauldron of uncertainty. Political desperation and communal 'neurosis' are signs of defeatism and bankruptcy of sound commonsense. Can order come out of such a political chaos? Peace, order and progress cannot come out of the present-day ideologies of political parties but by the introduction of a new principle of political representation—FUNCTIONALISM.

"Facts About India" is an attempt in the elucidation of facts in this direction. It discloses bare facts about the peculiarities of the Provinces and their problems from the nation-building point of view. With this aim in view the author has developed the theme on the basis of the Provinces. The system adopted in the book is to bring to light such facts as tell their tale in their own bare way.

Each chapter of the book deals with the provincial country, population (urban and rural), occupational distribution, religion by communities, literacy by religion and languages. Each chapter raises problems that require serious consideration for the well-being of our country.

The author regrets that he could not consult the Census Reports of 1941 for the Provinces as they have not seen the light of the day. That is the reason why he has not been able to split up Bihar and Orissa as well as Bombay and Sind into separate chapters. In the eleventh chapter he has utilized the stray figures for 1941.

In the end the author wishes to express his profound sense of gratitude to Sir Mirza M. Ismail for writing a foreword to the book. He also thankfully acknowledges his indebtedness to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who, in spite of her illness, took the trouble of reading the manuscript and offering some suggestions. My warmest thanks are due to Mr. C. Hanmanthrao for his ungrudging help in the preparation of the manuscript.

27 GEORGE TOWN, SECUNDERABAD

I. TOPA

October 27, 1943

N.B.—Owing to unavoidable circumstances the publication of the book has been delayed. The author could have utilized the latest figures from the Reports of the Census of India, 1941, but his difficulty was that all reports on all the Provinces of India have not been published yet. To give the latest data in few chapters and to let remain the old figures in other chapters would demerit the value of the book instead of enhancing it. The author has, therefore, retained the original based on the Reports of the Census of India, 1931.

June 24, 1944

I. TOPA

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. The Baluchistan Province	17
II. The North-West Frontier Province ..	42
III. The Punjab Province	63
IV. The United Provinces	104
V. The Bihar and Orissa Province	142
VI. The Bengal Province	173
VII. The Assam Province	214
VIII. The Central Provinces and Berar	246
IX. The Madras Presidency	285
X. The Bombay Presidency	321
XI. India	361
XII. The Fundamentals	375

CHAPTER FIRST

THE BALUCHISTAN PROVINCE

The Province of Baluchistan runs "with a frontier of 520 miles with Persia, 723 miles with Afghanistan, 38 with what was formerly no-man's land in the extreme North, 471 miles of Coast line, several miles of the Imperial Airways route and finally a long and important link in the Calcutta-London motor road which in the near future promises to become the high road to the Hedjaz and beyond."¹ It is also observed that "Baluchistan enjoys a pride of place which justly entitles it to high rank among Indian Provinces as India's sentinel on the most gigantic historical gateway of India."²

Area

The total area of Baluchistan as a Province is 134,638 square miles.³ The Province consists of British Baluchistan and British administered territory, tribal areas and the States of Kalat including Kharan and Las Bela.⁴

Political Divisions

The Province is composed of the following political divisions:—⁵ (a) British Baluchistan (including British Administered Territory; (b) tribal areas; (c) Baluchistan States, namely (i) Kalat including Kharan; (ii) Las Bela.

British Baluchistan proper is 7 per cent of the total area and 16 per cent of the total area of the Province.⁶ But the figures rise to 40 and 43 per cent respectively,

if the Agency territories, tribal areas and the leased-areas of Kalat are included.⁷ The percentage of the population and area both fall to 32, if tribal areas and areas leased from Kalat are excluded.⁸

Administrative Divisions

The administrative divisions of the Province of Baluchistan with their total area and population are as follows:—⁹

<i>Administrative Divisions</i>	<i>Area Sq. Miles</i>	<i>Popu- lation</i>
Baluchistan	134,638	868,617
British Baluchistan Districts	54,228	463,508
(i) Quetta-Pishin District	4,806	147,541
(ii) Loralai District	7,525	86,087
(iii) Zhob District	10,315	57,963
(iv) Chagai District	20,036	24,224
(v) Bolan and Kachhi Railway District	359	4,688
(vi) Sibi District	11,187	143,005
Administered Area	3,907	87,781

The total area of the districts is 54,228 square miles and their total population is 463,508. The total area of the States is 80,410 square miles and their total population 405,109. The tribal area is under the control of the political Agent, Sibi.¹⁰ It consists of the Mari and Bugti countries which are administered by the tribal chiefs.¹¹

Population

The total *de facto* population of the Province of Baluchistan is 868,617.¹² It is “a province covering a vast area with a surprisingly small population living in scattered villages and hamlets or constantly wandering

over difficult mountains and, through deserts grazing their flocks or looking for means of livelihood.”¹³ The nature of the provincial population is so floating and erratic that it would be a difficult task for the Province to adjust its laws to the stabilization of its population in the near or far future. Because the economic welfare of the Province will, primarily, depend on the steadiness of its population. To realise the seriousness of the population problem, it has to be borne in mind that the population of Baluchistan consists of (i) indigenous resident population (760,125); (ii) semi-indigenous population (6,969); (iii) aliens from India and other parts (86,570); (iv) seasonal nomads from Afghanistan (14,953); (v) temporary emigrants to India (43,594); (vi) seasonal emigrants to Afghanistan (1,000).¹⁴ Such a population is spread over an area of 134,638 square miles, with a density of 6 persons in a square mile.¹⁵ The average density in the districts is 9 persons per square mile.¹⁶ In the States of Kalat and Las Bela it is only 7.¹⁷

Urban Population

The Province of Baluchistan has 53 per cent of the total population living in the districts and 47 per cent in the States.¹⁸ In Baluchistan there are 102,602 persons who are urban i.e., 12 per cent of the total population.¹⁹ The urban element in the districts is 11 per cent of the total population and in the States 1 per cent.²⁰ The urban population of the Province falls in line with the urban population of the Province of the Punjab, but is 4 per cent more as compared with the North-West Frontier Province.²¹ It lags behind the other Provinces of India.²² It is aptly remarked that “in every hundred persons in Baluchistan twelve live in towns. This ratio

is inclusive of the alien population numbering 86,570 who are—as is generally the case with all aliens—town-dwellers almost to a man. If we exclude the aliens the ratio of town-dwellers among indigenous population dwindles down to two per cent.”²³ Thus the Province has a total urban population of 102,602 persons (Districts 92,025 persons; States 10,577 persons).²⁴ In other words, of the total urban population for the whole Province (102,602) 90 per cent live in the district areas, while only 10 per cent are found in the States.²⁵

This shows the overwhelming portion of urban population residing in the districts; but the proportion of the actual distribution of urban population in the districts varies from zero to 73. The statistical data reveal the fact that of all the population of the districts, the Quetta—Pishin District—alone contributes 73 per cent; Sibi follows next with 13 per cent; Loralai with 5 per cent; Zhob 7 per cent; Bolan 2 per cent and Chagai nil.²⁶ On the basis of the urban population in the districts the progress of urbanization resembles the earlier attempts of an infant for crawling, though it is stated that “the progress of urbanization has been fairly satisfactory for a backward Province like Baluchistan where industrial life is still in its infancy.”²⁷

There are only 17 towns in the whole of the Province. The population of the major towns is as follows :²⁸

<i>Towns</i>								<i>Population</i>
Quetta	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	60,272
(a) Town and Suburbs	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	34,881
(b) Cantonment	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	25,391
Sibi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9,532
Fort Sandeman (Town and Cantonment)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6,581
Chaman (Town and Cantonment)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6,050
Mastung	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,372
Bela	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,340
Loralai (Town and Cantonment)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,321
Pasni	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,989
Mach	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,834
Pishin (Town and Cantonment)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,435
Kalat	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,444
Panjgur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	432

Urban Population by Religion

The distribution of urban population by religion in the Province of Baluchistan has a significance of its own. In the political struggle for power this factor has been much exploited by communal politics.

There are per mille 66 Muslims, 642 Hindus, 834 Sikhs, 983 Christians and 886 others in towns.²⁹ These figures reveal the fact that Christians, Sikhs, Hindus and others outnumber the urban Muslims and mainly live in towns, while 934 per mille of the Muslim population reside in rural areas.³⁰

The following table illustrates the number per mille of the total population and of each main religion who live in towns.³¹

Province	Number Per Mille of Each Religion Who Live in Towns					
	Total Population	Muslim	Hindu	Sikh	Christian	Others
Baluchistan ..	118	66	642	834	983	886
Districts ..	198	106	805	837	983	890
States ..	26	24	89	474	937	1,000

Rural Population

In Baluchistan, 118 persons per mille live in towns, while in rural areas 882.³² The total rural population of the Province is 766,015 residing in 3,501 villages and encampments spread over an area of 134,584 square miles.³³ On an average one village covers an area of 38 square miles.³⁴ It is also stated that "in rural areas, 532 per mille live in villages and encampments with a population of less than 500; 220 in villages with population ranging between 500 to 1,000; 143 in villages with population of 1,000 to 2,000; 74 in villages with population of 2,000 to 5,000 and 27 in villages with a population of 5,000 to 10,000."³⁵

The following table shows the real distribution of the population of the Province between towns and villages:³⁶

Province	Average population per		Number per mille residing in	
	Town	Village	Town	Village
Baluchistan	6,035	219	118	882
Districts	7,669	261	119	801
States	2,115	190	26	974

On the basis of statistical data Baluchistan is a country of villagers, who form an overwhelming majority and are 88·2 per cent, while town dwellers are 11·8 per cent of the whole population.

Occupational Distribution

The occupational distribution of the whole people of the Province of Baluchistan is a problem that discloses the real nature of their economic activity and makes us realise one cogent fact that the population is split up in diverse functional groups and thereby earn their livelihood.

The Census Report informs us that in a total population of 868,617 there are 296,985 earners and 22,297 working dependents.³⁷ This means that per mille of the total population there are 342 earners and 26 working dependents.³⁸ In other words, out of the total population of 868,617, earners and working dependents are 319,282.³⁹

As the population of Baluchistan constitutes different elements—indigenous, semi-indigenous and alien—the

numerical strength of each group of workers is 257,594 (indigenous); 9,753 (semi-indigenous); 51,935 (alien).⁴⁰ And the non-working dependents in each group per mille of the total population are 578 (indigenous); 14 (semi-indigenous); 40 (alien).⁴¹ Hence the highest proportion is found among the semi-indigenous who have 445 earners per mille of their total numerical strength.⁴² Next come the alien with 400.⁴³ The indigenous come last with only 339 earners, but 661 working dependents.⁴⁴ The numerical strength of the indigenous, semi-indigenous and alien inhabitants of the Province in the main categories of occupation as earners and working dependents per mille is illustrated thus:⁴⁵

<i>Occupation (by sub-class)</i>	<i>Number per mille of</i>	
	<i>Earners</i>	<i>Working dependents</i>
Total (All classes)	342	26
Indigenous	272	25
Semi-indigenous	11	..
Alien	59	1
Production of raw material	231	118
Indigenous	225	17
Semi-indigenous	4 }	1
Alien	2 }	
Preparation and Supply of material substances	58	7
Indigenous	30	7
Semi-indigenous	5	..
Alien	23	..
Public administration and liberal arts	40	..
Indigenous	11	..
Semi-indigenous	2	..
Alien	27	..
Miscellaneous	13	1
Indigenous	6	..
Alien	7	1

This bears out that 68 per cent of the earners are employed in the production of raw material; 17 per cent of the earners in the preparation and supply of material substances; 12 per cent in public administration and liberal arts and 3 per cent in miscellaneous occupations.⁴⁶ The indigenous element of the population preponderates in agriculture and its allied pursuits having a percentage of 97 with a small margin of only 3 per cent for the semi-indigenous and alien.⁴⁷ In industry, transport and trade the indigenous inhabitants contribute 52 per cent, the semi-indigenous 9 per cent and the alien 39 per cent of the total earners.⁴⁸ The alien predominate in public force, public administration and professions and liberal arts the percentages being for the alien 68; the indigenous 27; and the semi-indigenous 5.⁴⁹ In domestic service and unproductive occupations the indigenous contribute 46 and the alien 54 per cent.⁵⁰ Be it observed here that out of a total of 73,307 persons in the Province, 50,241 are those who follow agriculture as their principal occupation and in every 1,000 earners (including working dependents) there are 229 persons who add to their income by devoting part of their time to auxiliary occupations in addition to their principal means of livelihood.⁵¹ Out of these 229 persons, 174 find work in the exploitation of animals and vegetation; 26 in trade; 13 in transport; 6 in industry; 3 in professions and liberal arts; 2 in public administration etc.⁵²

Agriculture

Of all the principal occupations in the Province of Baluchistan, agriculture holds a pre-eminent position. It includes non-cultivating proprietors taking rent in

money or kind, estate agents, rent collectors, cultivating owners, tenants, agricultural labourers, market gardeners; flower and fruit growers and forestry (including forest employers, wood cutters and charcoal burners and collectors of forest produce). Out of a total working population of 319,282 persons no less than 185,468 or 58 per cent are engaged in the allied pursuits of agriculture.⁵³ It is also interesting to note that out of 185,468 persons, 155,566 are employed in agriculture proper as cultivating owners, tenant cultivators and agricultural labourers.⁵⁴ There are only 11,513 non-cultivating proprietors.⁵⁵ The rest are forest workers, market gardeners, estate agents and fruit growers.⁵⁶ Pasture—the allied pursuit of agriculture—engages 27,751 persons.⁵⁷ This includes cattle and buffalo breeders, breeders of transport animals, herdsmen, shepherds and breeders of other animals.⁵⁸

Exploitation of Minerals

The Province of Baluchistan is not lacking in mineral resources. The field of natural resources has not been exploited to the full advantage of the country. There seems to be every possibility of an abundance of raw material in the form of minerals, which could be utilized with a view to developing the country economically and industrially. Baluchistan abounds in metallic as well as non-metallic minerals. Coal, saltpetre and chrome are its treasures. If exploration and prospecting were to be undertaken with a definite view to inaugurate a scheme of planned economy, many more minerals could be unearthed. The principal minerals mined are chrome and coal. It can safely be asserted that planned economy can assure Baluchistan in the

future an enviable position for itself as well as a feeding base for the supply of minerals to the other parts of India. The untapped mineral resources, if worked up, are sure to enhance its status as a self-supporting country in the future, if Baluchistan has its own way. This also will speed up the progress of industrialization in Baluchistan.

Industry

Industrially, Baluchistan is very backward.⁵⁹ Despite its industrial backwardness, industry has some importance in the economic activity of the people. It provides employment for 25,395 persons of whom 19,461 are earners and 5,934 working dependents and partly supports another 2,137 persons engaged, employed or interested in industry as a subsidiary occupation.⁶⁰ Industry as an occupation is sub-divided into different groups of occupation. The following tabulation shows the numerical strength of earners and working dependents in each group of principal and subsidiary occupations:⁶¹

				<i>Principal Earners and working dependents</i>	<i>Subsidiary earners</i>
Industry (by order)	..	..		25,395	2,137
Textiles .. ..	..	..		2,096	274
Hides and Skins etc.	..	..		44	..
Wood .. ..	..	..		5,464	583
Metals .. ..	..	..		2,515	178
Ceramics .. ..	..	..		598	217
Chemical products ..	..	..		293	81
Food industries ..	..	..		1,823	180
Dress and toilet ..	..	..		5,451	220

	<i>Principal Earners and working dependents</i>	<i>Subsidiary earners</i>
Furniture	585	11
Building	2,043	320
Means of transport	109	3
Reduction of physical force ..	194	..
Miscellaneous	4,180	70

The chief among the indigenous industries are wool carding, spinning and weaving, embroideries, leather work, basket and mat making from dwarf palm leaves.⁶² For the various branches or groups of industry in the Province the agricultural base forms the most formidable and indispensable base. Without the linkage of agriculture as a functional economic group industry would shrink into a non-entity—an economic pursuit hardly to be taken into consideration for the welfare of the country. After agriculture the material or mineral resources help to “blossom” industry. Baluchistan’s future does rest on the industrial development, if agricultural planning and re-organization and exploration of mineral funds are not lost sight of. Agriculture will always stand as a mother to her industries in Baluchistan and in the scheme of national re-organization, the primary occupation—agriculture—has to become a powerful factor in industrializing the country with the help of mineral resources at its disposal.

Trade

After industry, trade as an occupational pursuit of the people of Baluchistan is of importance as a means of livelihood. It has a broader range of occupational

activity. The people of the Province are engaged in banking, brokerage, trade in textiles, skins, wood, metals, pottery, chemical products, restaurant business, food-stuffs, clothing, furniture, building material, means of transport, fuel, articles of luxury and other sorts.⁶³ There are 13,582 persons engaged in trade and 8,513 persons partly supported by trade as a subsidiary occupation.⁶⁴ Textiles, foodstuffs, restaurant business, clothing and fuel contribute their biggest quota to trade as an occupational function. This fact brings out the importance of a closer connection between agriculture and trade. Agriculture here too forms an indispensable base for the existence of trade activity in the country of Baluchistan. It is so intimately interlinked with agricultural products that the future progress of trade will eventually depend on agricultural organization and planning on a national-scale.

Public Force

The indigenous population of the Province of Baluchistan does not play any vital rôle in public force as an occupation. The alien overwhelm the indigenous in the recruitment of Imperial Army. The alien are 18,682 as compared with 921 indigenous.⁶⁵ The Baluchistan States' Army is composed of 503 indigenous and 23 alien.⁶⁶ Only in police, including civil levies and village watchmen, the indigenous are 4,790 and the alien 914.⁶⁷ It may be observed here that owing to abnormal times through which the whole country is passing there may have been a large recruitment of the indigenous people to the army for the purposes of war. We have no specific data regarding the actual number of the people of Baluchistan who have joined the war service.

Public Administration

The actual total of earners and working dependents who are engaged in public administration is 4,133, (service of the State 2,058, service of Baluchistan States 1,163, Municipal service 375, village officials 537).⁶⁸ Out of 4,133 persons, 2,140 are indigenous and 1,993 alien.⁶⁹ In the service of the State the alien have a lion's share. They are 1,574 and the indigenous are only 484.⁷⁰ Even in the Municipal service the alien are 274 and the indigenous 101.⁷¹ 1,089 indigenous and 74 alien are employed in the service of Baluchistan States.⁷² Out of the 537 village officials, 466 are indigenous and 71 alien.⁷³

Professions and Liberal Arts

As the Province is backward in education, it is also the alien element of the population that is holding its own against the indigenous. In law and order, the alien are 52 while the indigenous are 10.⁷⁴ There are 265 alien and 129 indigenous employed as teachers in the occupation of public instructions.⁷⁵

Occupation by Race, Tribe or Caste

It is most interesting to learn how the different sections of the population of the Province of Baluchistan are connected with the occupational distribution of work or activity. These sections represent their own cultural, linguistic and ethnic characteristics. The table below illustrates their numerical strength as principal earners and working dependents.⁷⁶

<i>Racial Unit</i>						<i>Principal earners</i>	<i>Working dependents</i>
Indigenous .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	236,602	21,177
Baloch .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	69,270	7,051
Brahui .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	48,789	1,896
Pathan .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	53,103	6,555
Lasi .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	8,863	2,575
Sayyid .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	5,753	1,187
Jatt .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	26,939	1,090
Other Muslim .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	17,527	694
Hindu .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	6,327	129

It may be observed that in every 100 earners Balochs claim 29, Pathans 22, Brahuīs 21, Jatts 11, while the remaining 17 are distributed over the other indigenous races.⁷⁷ The number per mille in each ethnic group engaged in each main occupation follows thus:⁷⁸

Religion

The population of the Province is varied and colourful in its religious denomination. Different faiths and creeds exist in Baluchistan. It is a country of an overwhelming Muslim population of diverse creeds and ethnic units. The numerical strength of each religion is shown below.⁷⁹

<i>Religion</i>							<i>Numerical strength</i>
Muslim	..	..	..	..	..	..	789,093
Hindu	..	..	..	..	..	..	53,681
Sikh	..	..	..	..	..	..	8,425
Christian	..	..	..	..	..	..	8,059
Jain	..	..	..	..	..	..	32
Buddhist	..	..	..	..	..	..	68
Zoroastrian	..	..	..	..	..	..	167
Jew	..	..	..	..	..	..	17
Tribal	..	..	..	..	..	..	32
Others	..	..	..	..	..	..	42

Muslims predominate enormously claiming 919 in every 1,000 of the total population including temporary immigrants. Hindus contribute 62 ; Sikhs 10; Christians 9 and other religions less than one.⁸⁰ Differentiating between the indigenous population and immigrants, the proportion of Muslims rises to 978 in every 1,000 indigenous inhabitants of all creeds, while that of the Hindus fall from 62 to 22.⁸¹ No other religion, excepting 48 Sikhs, is represented in tribal areas.⁸² The following figures bear out the statement:⁸³

<i>Religion</i>							<i>Indigenons</i>	<i>Alien</i>
Muslim	..	..	..	..	..	..	765,094	32,999
Hindu	..	..	..	..	..	..	16,905	36,776
Sikh	..	..	..	..	..	..	48	8,377

The districts have a total population of 463,508. Out of it, Muslims are 405,309, Hindus 41,432, Sikhs 8,368, Christians 8,044 and others 321.⁸⁴ It is a great pity that the Census Report does not furnish us with information regarding the actual distribution of each religion by locality. The only available statistical data is that of the district of Quetta-Pishin. In this district Hindus, Sikhs and Christians are in overwhelming numbers, but they do not out-number Muslims. Their proportion is as follows:⁸⁵ Hindus 26,718; Sikhs 5,255; Christians 7,370. In the States of Baluchistan out of the total population of 405,109, Muslims are 392,784, Hindus 12,249, Sikhs 57 and Christians 15.⁸⁶

Muslims

The total number of Muslims in the Province of Baluchistan is 798,093 (405,309 Muslims in the British and administered territories and 392,784 Muslims in the States).⁸⁷ They represent 92 per cent of the total population in the Province as a whole, 87 per cent in the British and administered territories and 97 per cent in the States.⁸⁸ In the total Muslim population of the Province, the indigenous are 743,172, the semi-indigenous 21,922 and the alien immigrants 32,999.⁸⁹ Their percentage of the total population is as follows: the indigenous 85, the semi-indigenous 4 and alien immigrants 3.⁹⁰

In the Muslim population there is no uniform creed. There are many sects within the fold of Islam in the Province. The only sects that are indigenous to the Province are Sunni and Zikri and about 1,000 Shiah among the Dombkis.⁹¹ The rest of the sects are to be found exclusively among immigrants chiefly from the Punjab.⁹²

The numerical strength of each Muslim sect is given below.⁹³

Sunni	..	..	.	..	.	..	767,114
Zikri	..	..	.	..	..	..	24,231
Shiah	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,961
Ahmadi	..	..	..	..	..	..	122
Ahl-i-Hadis	..	..	..	..	..	..	108
Sufi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Unspecified	..	..	..	..	..	..	557

The Pathan

Muslims of the Province of Baluchistan do not form a solid ethnic group nor an uniform cultural pattern, nor a linguistic block. Pathans, having their own historical and cultural background, represent 21 per cent of the total population and 23 per cent of the total indigenous population.⁹⁴ They are divided into six main groups, namely, Tarin, Kakar, Pani, Miani, Shirani and Kasi.⁹⁵

The Baloch

Balochs are a different people from Pathans. They have their own tribal characteristics and are divided into two main branches—the Eastern and the Western. Their numerical strength is 75,677 and 150,364 respectively.⁹⁶

The Brahui

Brahuis are an entity by themselves. They belong to a very old stock of race and have nothing in common with either Pathans or Balochs. They are divided into four main branches—the true Brahui, Sarawan, Jhalawan and miscellaneous.⁹⁷

Other Muslim Ethnic Groups

The other Muslim ethnic groups form about 7 per cent of the total indigenous population of the Province.⁹⁸ The Lasi are 4 per cent of the total population or 5 per cent of the indigenous Muslims.⁹⁹ The Jatt are one-twelfth of the total population and over 10 per cent of the indigenous Muslims.¹⁰⁰ It may be noted here that the semi-indigenous population composed of Pathans (17,018), Balochs (1,805), other Muslims (3,099) represent about 3 per cent of the total population of the Province.¹⁰¹ The Muslim immigrants number 32,999.¹⁰²

Hindus

The second largest community in the Province is that of Hindus, who represent only 6 per cent of the total population.¹⁰³ It is composed of 16,905 persons who are indigenous to the Province and 36,776 immigrants from Sind, the Punjab and other Provinces of India.¹⁰⁴ Of the indigenous Hindus 5,136 reside in the districts and 11,769 in the States.¹⁰⁵ The major portion of the alien Hindus, however, are found in the districts.¹⁰⁶ Their actual number is 36,296 in the various districts and only 480 in the States.¹⁰⁷ Thus the percentage of the indigenous Hindus works out to only 2 in the total population against 6 for all Hindus and 4 for alien Hindus or against 92 for all Muslims (indigenous, semi-indigenous and alien) and 98 for the indigenous Muslims in the whole of the indigenous population.¹⁰⁸ The indigenous Hindus are strongly represented in the plains and their proportional percentage of the total population of each locality is 41 in Kachhi, 15 in Dombki-Kaheri, 11 in Sibi, 8 in Las Bela, 7 in Loralai, 6 in Quetta-Pishin and 4

in Sarawan.¹⁰⁹ The rest 5 per cent are scattered over other districts and divisions of Kalat State.¹¹⁰ The alien Hindus are found mostly in Quetta and other garrison and headquarter stations.¹¹¹ They are conspicuous by their absence in rural areas.¹¹² In Quetta-Pishin their percentage is 70, in Sibi 10, in Zhob 8, in Loralai 6, in other stations 6.¹¹³ The indigenous Hindu population in the Province consists of Arora (16,359), Brahman (157), Khatri (259) and others (130).¹¹⁴ The Hindu alien immigrants are 36,776.¹¹⁵

Sikhs

In the Province of Baluchistan Sikhs represent slightly less than one per cent of the total population.¹¹⁶ As a matter of fact Sikhs do not belong to the country. There are 8,377 alien Sikhs against 48 indigenous.¹¹⁷

Alien Population

To the alien population of the Province Muslims contribute 38 per cent, Hindus 42, Sikhs 10, European and Anglo-Indian and others 10.¹¹⁸ The numerical strength of each principal tribe or caste is given below:¹¹⁹

<i>Muslim</i>		<i>Hindu</i>		<i>Sikh</i>	
Baloch	.. 1,627	Arora	.. 7,157	Jatt ..	.. 2,613
Pathan	.. 5,581	Gurukha	.. 5,029	Chuhra	.. 134
Jatt	.. 5,532	Khatri	.. 4,663	Sikh..	.. 2,070
Sayyid	.. 1,679	Rajput	.. 3,937	Other castes	3,561
Rajput	.. 5,305	Brahman	.. 3,546		
Sheikh	.. 5,077	Arya	.. 1,725		
Awan	.. 1,959	Depressed	.. 7,346		
Chuhra	.. 546	Others	.. 3,773		
Others	.. 5,693				

Literacy

The Province of Baluchistan has made no appreciable strides in the field of education. The system of education prevalent in the country is partly modelled on the old Muslim or Hindu way of teaching and partly on the government-controlled system of instruction.¹²⁰ In the total population of 868,617 persons, Baluchistan has only 40,775 literates.¹²¹ Of these, the literate aliens from outside the Province are 31,578 or 774 per mille, while the indigenous have 9,197 literates.¹²² Among the total indigenous Muslims of 743,172, literates constitute only 5,101.¹²³ Out of the total Hindu indigenous population of 16,905, 4,084 Hindus are literate.¹²⁴ Thus a proportion of 7 Muslim and 242 Hindu literates per mille of their total population is arrived at.¹²⁵ The districts form 88 per cent and the States 12 per cent of the total literate population.¹²⁶ Of the districts, Quetta-Pishin accounts for 60 per cent.¹²⁷ Zhob with 9 per cent comes next followed by Sibi, Loralai and Chagai with 7, 7 and 3 per cent respectively; Bolan with 2 per cent comes last.¹²⁸

Literacy by Religion

In every 100 literates in the Province there are 45 Hindus, 10 Sikhs, 31 Muslims (20 alien and 10 indigenous inhabitants), 13 Christians and one belonging to other religions.¹²⁹ The percentage of each religion on the total numerical strength is highly informative. Literacy is highest among Zoroastrians.¹³⁰ Out of every 100 of literate population Zoroastrians have 71 literates; Christians 67; Sikhs 49; Hindus 34; and Muslims 2.¹³¹ Considering the alien and indigenous Muslims separately, the percentage for the alien rises to 20 while for the indige-

nous it falls to the negligible figure of one literate in every 100.¹³² The literates among the indigenous Muslims are only 5,101.¹³³ In every 100 among the indigenous Muslim literates there are 35 Pathans, 20 Brahuis, 18 Balochs, 12 Sayyids, 7 others, 6 Jatts, 2 Lasis.¹³⁴ In other words, according to the strength of each tribe per mille of literates there are 27 Sayyids, 10 Pathans, 7 Brahuis, 6 others, 4 Balochs, 4 Jatts, 4 Lasis.¹³⁵

Literacy in English

Christians lead the way in literacy in English in the Province and contribute 45 per cent.¹³⁶ Hindus follow with 28 per cent.¹³⁷ Next come Muslims and Sikhs with 18 per cent and 8 per cent respectively.¹³⁸ Zoroastrians make 65 per cent, Christians 64 per cent, Sikhs 12 per cent, Hindus 6 per cent and Muslims 0·3 per cent, if the proportion of literacy is compared with the total population.¹³⁹

Languages

In the Province of Baluchistan altogether 51 languages are spoken.¹⁴⁰ Of these, 7 are the languages of Baluchistan, 27 languages of other parts of India, 7 languages of the Asiatic countries and Africa and 10 European languages.¹⁴¹ The chief indigenous languages that can hold their own will be the languages of Baluchistan proper in the future. Though there is a tussle and rivalry between various languages in the Province due to economic factors, these languages are bound to stay in the country as mothertongues of different groups of people with their cultural, linguistic, and historic antecedents. In Baluchistan, Balochi is not the exclusive language of Balochs.¹⁴² It is spoken by 31 per cent of

the total population of the Province and 35 of the indigenous population and is the most popular language.¹⁴³ Pashto is spoken by 24 per cent of the total population of the Province.¹⁴⁴ Brahui is spoken by 15 per cent of the population of Baluchistan.¹⁴⁵ The other important languages are Lahnda and Sindhi (with its various dialects). Sindhi alone is spoken by 16 per cent of the total population of the Province.¹⁴⁶ The dividing line between Lahnda and Sindhi is very thin and they are considered as sister languages.¹⁴⁷ It may be remarked that the indigenous languages of the Province are the common linguistic heritage of the people without a religious bias or tinge. People of all creeds speak them as their mothertongues.

REFERENCE

¹ Census of India, 1931, Vol. IV. Baluchistan Part I and II, Lahore, 1934, p. 2. ² *ibid.* p. 2. ³ *ibid.* p. 1. ⁴ *ibid.* p. 2. ⁵ *ibid.* pp. 3, 4, (Under British Baluchistan only two divisions are legally recognized, namely, British Baluchistan and Agency territories. The distinction between British Baluchistan and the Agency territories is, however, only nominal. They are one and the same for all practical purposes). ⁶ *ibid.* p. 3. ⁷ *ibid.* p. 3. ⁸ *ibid.* p. 4. ⁹ *ibid.* p. 4. ¹⁰ *ibid.* p. 3. ¹¹ *ibid.* p. 3. ¹² *ibid.* p. 6. ¹³ *ibid.* p. 4. ¹⁴ *ibid.* pp. 6, 7. ¹⁵ *ibid.* p. 8. ¹⁶ *ibid.* p. 8. ¹⁷ *ibid.* p. 8. ¹⁸ *ibid.* p. 25. ¹⁹ *ibid.* p. 25. ²⁰ *ibid.* p. 25. ²¹ *ibid.* p. 25. ²² *ibid.* p. 25. ²³ *ibid.* p. 25. ²⁴ *ibid.* p. 26. ²⁵ *ibid.* p. 26. ²⁶ *ibid.* p. 26. ²⁷ *ibid.* p. 26. ²⁸ *ibid.* p. 27. ²⁹ *ibid.* p. 26. ³⁰ *ibid.* p. 26. "The main attractions for the growth of urban population are industrial and transport employment and trade. The Province possesses practically no artisan class of its own—not even sweepers—and masons and carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, painters, tailors, potters, boot and shoe makers and skilled labourers etc. are all drawn from the Indian provinces principally from the Punjab." ³¹ *ibid.* p. 29. ³² *ibid.* p. 28. ³³ *ibid.* p. 28. ³⁴ *ibid.* p. 28. ³⁵ *ibid.* p. 28. ³⁶ *ibid.* p. 28. ³⁷ *ibid.* p. 89. ³⁸ *ibid.* p. 89. ³⁹ *ibid.* p. 89.

- ⁴⁰ *ibid.* p. 90. ⁴¹ *ibid.* p. 90. ⁴² *ibid.* p. 90. ⁴³ *ibid.* p. 90. ⁴⁴ *ibid.* p. 90. ⁴⁵ *ibid.* p. 92. ⁴⁶ *ibid.* p. 92. ⁴⁷ *ibid.* p. 92. ⁴⁸ *ibid.* p. 92. ⁴⁹ *ibid.* p. 92. ⁵⁰ *ibid.* p. 92. ⁵¹ *ibid.* p. 94. ⁵² *ibid.* p. 94. ⁵³ *ibid.* p. 95. ⁵⁴ *ibid.* p. 95. ⁵⁵ *ibid.* p. 95. ⁵⁶ *ibid.* p. 95. ⁵⁷ *ibid.* p. 95. ⁵⁸ *ibid.* p. 95. ⁵⁹ *ibid.* p. 95. ⁶⁰ *ibid.* p. 97. ⁶¹ *ibid.* p. 97. ⁶² *ibid.* p. 97. ⁶³ *ibid.* p. 98. ⁶⁴ *ibid.* p. 98. ⁶⁵ *ibid.* p. 99. ⁶⁶ *ibid.* p. 99. ⁶⁷ *ibid.* p. 99. ⁶⁸ *ibid.* p. 99. ⁶⁹ *ibid.* p. 99. ⁷⁰ *ibid.* p. 99. ⁷¹ *ibid.* p. 99. ⁷² *ibid.* p. 99. ⁷³ *ibid.* p. 99. ⁷⁴ *ibid.* p. 99. ⁷⁵ *ibid.* p. 99. ⁷⁶ *ibid.* p. 100. ⁷⁷ *ibid.* p. 100. ⁷⁸ *ibid.* p. 100. ⁷⁹ *ibid.* p. 148. ⁸⁰ *ibid.* p. 148. ⁸¹ *ibid.* p. 148. ⁸² *ibid.* p. 148. ⁸³ *ibid.* p. 148. ⁸⁴ *ibid.* p. 149. ⁸⁵ *ibid.* p. 149. ⁸⁶ *ibid.* p. 149. ⁸⁷ *ibid.* p. 149. ⁸⁸ *ibid.* p. 149. ⁸⁹ *ibid.* p. 149. ⁹⁰ *ibid.* p. 149. ⁹¹ *ibid.* p. 149. ⁹² *ibid.* p. 149. ⁹³ *ibid.* p. 149. ⁹⁴ *ibid.* p. 158. ⁹⁵ *ibid.* p. 158. ⁹⁶ *ibid.* p. 160. ⁹⁷ *ibid.* p. 162. ⁹⁸ *ibid.* p. 164. ⁹⁹ *ibid.* p. 163. ¹⁰⁰ *ibid.* p. 163. ¹⁰¹ *ibid.* p. 164. ¹⁰² *ibid.* p. 165. ¹⁰³ *ibid.* p. 151. ¹⁰⁴ *ibid.* p. 151. ¹⁰⁵ *ibid.* p. 151. ¹⁰⁶ *ibid.* p. 151. ¹⁰⁷ *ibid.* p. 151. ¹⁰⁸ *ibid.* p. 151. ¹⁰⁹ *ibid.* p. 151. ¹¹⁰ *ibid.* p. 151. ¹¹¹ *ibid.* p. 151. ¹¹² *ibid.* p. 151. ¹¹³ *ibid.* p. 151. ¹¹⁴ *ibid.* p. 164. ¹¹⁵ *ibid.* p. 165. ¹¹⁶ *ibid.* p. 152. ¹¹⁷ *ibid.* p. 152. ¹¹⁸ *ibid.* p. 165. ¹¹⁹ *ibid.* p. 165. ¹²⁰ *ibid.* p. 119. ¹²¹ *ibid.* p. 120. ¹²² *ibid.* p. 120. ¹²³ *ibid.* p. 120. ¹²⁴ *ibid.* p. 120. ¹²⁵ *ibid.* p. 120. ¹²⁶ *ibid.* p. 120. ¹²⁷ *ibid.* p. 120. ¹²⁸ *ibid.* p. 120. ¹²⁹ *ibid.* p. 121. ¹³⁰ *ibid.* p. 121. ¹³¹ *ibid.* p. 121. ¹³² *ibid.* p. 121. ¹³³ *ibid.* p. 121. ¹³⁴ *ibid.* p. 121. ¹³⁵ *ibid.* p. 121. ¹³⁶ *ibid.* p. 121. ¹³⁷ *ibid.* p. 121. ¹³⁸ *ibid.* p. 121. ¹³⁹ *ibid.* p. 121. ¹⁴⁰ *ibid.* p. 132. ¹⁴¹ *ibid.* p. 132. ¹⁴² *ibid.* p. 134. ¹⁴³ *ibid.* p. 134. ¹⁴⁴ *ibid.* p. 134. ¹⁴⁵ *ibid.* p. 136. ¹⁴⁶ *ibid.* p. 136. ¹⁴⁷ *ibid.* p. 136.

CHAPTER SECOND

THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

Area

The Province of North-West Frontier is 408 miles in length and 279 miles in breadth.¹ The total area of the Province is approximately 36,356 square miles.² In area it is almost the smallest Province in India, only Ajmer-Merwara, the Andamans and Nicobars, Delhi and Coorg being smaller.³ It is about three-fifths of the size of England and Wales, one and a half times the size of the Irish Free State and about one-third of New Zealand.⁴

Natural Division

The North-West Frontier Province forms part of the main natural division, the "North Dry Area," which extends southwards beyond the boundary of the Province through the Punjab districts of Mianwali, Muzaffargarh and Dera Ghazi Khan and covers a large portion of the Western Punjab.⁵ It is important to note that the three natural divisions—Hazara, the Trans-Indus districts and agencies and tribal areas—form 8·3, 28·9 and 62·8 per cent respectively of the total area of the Province.⁶

Political and Administrative Divisions

The Province has two main political divisions: (1) The Trans-Frontier Area (containing the five political agencies—the Malakand, Khyber, Kurram, North

Waziristan and South Waziristan and the district "Tribal Areas") the inhabitants of which are subject only to the political control and surveillance of the Chief Commissioner in his capacity as Agent to the Governor-General and (2) the five regularly administered districts of Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan.⁷

Districts

The Province has five districts. These are arranged according to their size below:⁸

<i>District</i>						<i>Area</i>	
Dera Ismail Khan	..	..	..	..	..	3,471	Square miles
Hazara	..	..	..	..	..	3,009	" "
Kohat	..	..	..	..	..	2,703	" "
Peshawar	..	..	..	..	..	2,637	" "
Bannu	..	..	..	..	..	1,698	" "

Population and Density

The total population of the North-West Frontier Province is 4,684,364.⁹ The five administered districts and the Trans-Frontier posts have a population of 2,471,527 and the Trans-Frontier Areas 2,212,837.¹⁰ It is of some interest to state that the total population of the Province is only slightly less than that of Scotland.¹¹ It stands tenth as compared with other Provinces of India.¹² Though it is smaller in area than her next door neighbour Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier Province has a considerably larger population.¹³ The population of the three natural divisions is 14·3, 37·5 and 48·2 per cent respectively of the total population of the Province.¹⁴ The population of the districts with their density is shown below:¹⁵

<i>Locality</i>						<i>Population</i>	<i>Density</i>
Districts	..	..	..	..	..	2,425,076	179
Hazara	..	..	..	..	..	670,117	223
Peshawar	..	..	..	..	..	974,321	369
Kohat	..	..	..	..	..	236,273	88
Bannu	..	..	..	..	..	270,301	159
Dera Ismail Khan	..	..	..	..	..	274,064	79

Density

The density of the whole population of the Province comes to an average of 29 per square mile.¹⁶ In the five districts the mean density is 179 and in the Trans-Frontier area 99.¹⁷

Urban Population

The urban element in the total population of the Province is 16 per cent.¹⁸ The Census Report of India informs us that "of the 2,856 inhabited urban and rural "places" into which the Province is divided, the population of the 26 towns (including Municipal and non-Municipal towns and treating Cantonments as separate towns) amounts to 386,177 persons, while the population of the villages (numbering 2,830) is 2,038,899."¹⁹

The comparative table given below indicates the proportionate percentage of the total population between urban and rural:²⁰

<i>Province</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>
Baluchistan (Districts)	19.9	80.1
N. W. F. Province (Districts) . .	15.9	84.1
Punjab (British Territory)	12.4	87.6

The urban population of the Province is distributed as follows:²¹

<i>Towns</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Percentage of total urban population</i>
Municipalities, notified areas and civil lines	13	263,380	68.2
Cantonments	9	86,564	22.4
Other towns	4	36,233	9.4
Total	26	386,177	100

The number of urban to 1,000 of the rural population in the districts is given below:²²

N. W. F. Province (Districts)	..	189
Hazara .. .	..	67
Peshawar .. .	..	286
Kohat .. .	..	121
Bannu .. .	..	165
Dera Ismail Khan .. .	..	252

The Province of North-West Frontier is conspicuous in the non-existence of those factors that elsewhere in India go to help in the urban development, namely the expansion of trade and the development of organized industries.²³ This is the chief cause for the slow pace of urbanization in the Province.²⁴ Economists hold that the growth and progress of urbanization of a country depends primarily on three conditions:—(a) natural growth and prosperity; (b) migration from rural to urban areas due to pressure of economic urges of life; and (c) gradual expansion or extension of urban area into rural areas. The Province defies the laws of economics. Many provincial towns owe their existence as well as

their enhanced position to the influence of immigrants, not from neighbouring towns and villages, but from outside the Province altogether.²⁵ Certain cantonments as military basis for border defence, in the Province, are biggest and most important urban centres.²⁶ It is true, also, of some Municipal towns where the population is largely composed of Hindu and Sikh traders from the Punjab.²⁷ The military and civil populations form 28·6 and 71·4 per cent respectively of the total cantonment population.²⁸ The proportion of each main religion in urban areas in the Province is an interesting item of information. It is as below:²⁹

<i>Religion</i>							<i>Number per mille who live in towns</i>
<hr/>							
All religions	..	..	.	.	..	..	159
Muslim	..	..	..	..	.	..	115
Hindu	..	..	..	..	..	..	651
Sikh	.	..	..	..	..	..	597
Christian	..	..	..	..	..	..	934

It is also interesting to observe that the proportion of each community residing in towns is determined mainly by occupation, e.g., service of the State (military and civil) in the case of Christians; and trade and industry in the case of Hindus and Sikhs; Muslims, being chiefly agriculturists, live mostly in the country villages.³⁰ It is aptly remarked "when it is remembered that Muslims form 95 per cent of the total population of the five districts, it is natural to find that they predominate over all other religions in the towns as well as in the villages. The only individual towns in which Muslims are not in a majority are Abbottabad Cantonment and Bannu Muni-

cipality where Hindus are in a majority. This is due in the case of Abbottabad Cantonment to the fact that it is a permanent Gurkha station, and in the case of Bannu Municipality to the preponderance of Hindu traders which has for many years been a distinctive feature of that town."³¹

The percentage figures thus worked out on the basis of actual urban population in the Province are as follows:³²

<i>Religion</i>						<i>Actual</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
All religions	..	..	..	..	..	386,117	100
Muslim	..	..	..	..	..	256,189	66.3
Hindu	..	..	..	..	..	93,127	24.1
Sikh	..	..	..	..	..	25,377	6.6
Christian	..	..	..	..	..	11,411	3.0
Others	..	..	..	..	..	73	..

Rural Population

"To the majority of the inhabitants of the North-West Frontier Province, town life presents few attractions. The link with agricultural and rural element in tribal life is a strong one and no general inclination towards the settled conditions of town life has yet begun to develop."³³ The province of North-West Frontier is a huge country of villages and has its roots in the agricultural life and activity. The largest proportion of rural population of each district lives in small villages with a population ranging from 500 to 2,000.³⁴ The table given below shows the relative distribution of the population between towns and villages:³⁵

<i>District</i>	<i>Average population per</i>		<i>Number per mille residing in</i>	
	<i>Town</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Town</i>	<i>Village</i>
N. W. F. Province (Districts) ..	14,853	720	159	841
Hazara	6,997	678	63	937
Peshawar	19,675	896	222	778
Bannu	12,747	611	141	859
Dera Ismail Khan	13,794	553	201	706

In order to bring out the importance of the Muslim rural element against the non-Muslim urban element in urban population the following table is given.³⁶

<i>District</i>	<i>Number per mille who live in towns</i>				
	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>Muslims</i>	<i>Hindus</i>	<i>Sikhs</i>	<i>Christians</i>
N. W. F. Province ..	159	115	651	597	934
Hazara	63	40	522	348	833
Peshawar	222	176	808	630	942
Kohat	145	112	501	662	928
Bannu	141	64	681	769	984
Dera Ismail Khan ..	201	137	591	573	836

The rural element in the Province is 84 per cent of the total population.³⁷ It is explicitly stated that "the largest predominance of the rural as compared with the urban population has always existed and that though there has been a slight increase in the proportion of the urban population since 1911, there is yet no

marked tendency for the population to congregate in towns.”³⁸

Occupational Distribution

In the Province of North-West Frontier the agricultural pursuits as occupational functions dominate all other economic orders to such an extent that agriculture with its allied occupations and works stands out as a pre-eminent occupation of the people for their livelihood and sustenance. The Province gives a figure of 857,968 persons as workers.³⁹ There are 354 workers per 1,000 of the population of the districts.⁴⁰ The distribution of workers into four main classes is illustrated thus:⁴¹

<i>Occupation (by class)</i>	<i>Actual Numbers</i>	<i>Percentage of total workers</i>
Production of raw materials	528,843	62
Preparation and supply of material substances	118,803	22
Public administration and liberal arts ..	70,735	8
Miscellaneous	69,587	8

On the basis of per mille of the total population of the Province, earners (principal occupation) and working dependents number as follows:⁴²

Occupation (by sub-class)	Earners (principal occupation) and working dependents			
		Number per 10,000 of total population	Percentage recorded in	
			cities & urban industrial areas	rural areas (exclusive)
Production of raw materials	218	2,181	1	99
(1) Exploitation of animals and vegetation ..	218	2,180	1	99
(2) Exploitation of minerals	0.1	1	..	99
Preparation and supply of material substances ..	78	778	1	99
(3) Industry	45	448	8	92
(4) Transport	8	76	4	96
(5) Trade	25	254	9	91
Public administration and liberal arts	29	292	5	95
(6) Public force	16	165	1	99
(7) Public administration and liberal arts ..	4	41	15	85
(8) Professions and liberal arts	9	86	7	93
Miscellaneous	29	287	7	93
(9) Persons living principally on their income	1	9	9	91
(10) Domestic service ..	..	53	19	81
(11) Insufficiently described occupations ..	..	176	5	81
(12) Unproductive ..	..	49	4	96

The distribution of principal earners and working dependents according to their occupations shows clearly the over-dominance of agricultural and pastoral pursuits

in the lives of the people of the Province. The largest number of workers is engaged in agriculture; that alone accounts for 616 per 1,000 of the total workers.⁴³ The percentage distribution of agriculturists—(a) non-cultivating proprietors (8%), (b) cultivating proprietors (43%), (c) tenant cultivators (38%), (d) agricultural labourers (11%)—works out the figure of 92 who are directly engaged in agricultural occupation.⁴⁴ The non-cultivating proprietors (8%) live on agricultural income without participating in the production of agriculture. The Census Report informs that those workers, who eke out their livelihood in the subsidiary occupation are also overwhelmingly engaged in rural areas and are dependent on agriculture and its allied pursuits.⁴⁵

Occupation by Caste or Religion

The Province of North-West Frontier affords a colourful picture of socio-economic composition. Occupation as an economic function of certain tribes, castes or sects is the chief characteristic of the Province. As political, economic and educational factors play a dominant rôle in the social life of the people, so in the North-West Frontier Province their rôle is indirectly determined by occupational superiority and control. The ill-balanced distribution of castes or tribes in an heterogeneous population of the Province in the field of economic control, educational superiority and administrative "monopoly" leads to much rancour, ill-will and animosity among communities and more so when these are effective in the usurpation of political power and control. The following table bears out the significance of the statement:⁴⁶

OCCUPATION OF SELECTED TRIBES OR CASTES

<i>Tribe or caste and class of occupation</i>							<i>Number per 10,000 wor- kers engag- ed on each occupation</i>
Exploitation of animals and vegetation—							
Arora ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	107
Awan ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,420
Chamar	..	..	..	..	..	..	181
Chuhra	..	..	..	..	..	..	25
Gujar ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,475
Jat ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,344
Pathan	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,610
Sayyid	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,574
Swathi	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,258
Tanaoli	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,752
Trade—							
Arora ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	631
Brahman	..	..	..	..	..	..	139
Khatri	..	..	..	..	..	..	487
Industry—							
Arora ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	20
Awan ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	47
Chamar	..	..	..	..	..	..	583
Chuhra	..	..	..	..	..	..	702
Jat ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	27
Pathan	..	..	..	..	..	..	17
Transport—							
Arora ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
Khatri	..	..	..	..	..	..	25
Anglo-Indian	..	..	..	..	..	..	159
Public force—							
European	..	..	..	..	..	..	979
Anglo-Indian	..	..	..	..	..	..	238
Khatri	..	..	..	..	..	..	133
Jat ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	143
Gujar ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17
Brahman	..	..	..	..	..	..	180
Awan ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	39

<i>Tribe or caste and class of occupation</i>	<i>Number per 10,000 wor- kers engag- ed on each occupation</i>
Public administration—	
Arora	58
Brahman	94
Khatri	63
Anglo-Indian	397
Professions and liberal arts—	
Arora	28
Brahman	140
Khatri	32
Domestic service—	
Chuhra	168
Gujar	20
Khatri	93
Swathi	38
Tanaoli	16
Anglo-Indian	95
Religion—	
Brahman	124
Sayyid (Cultivator and Priest)	784
Persons living on their income—	
Arora	14
Labour	
Gujar } unspecified	16
Pathan }	56
Others—	
Arora	89
Awan	203
Brahman	261
Chamar	236
Chuhra	105
Gujar	193
Jat	158
Khatri	167
Pathan	122
Sayyid	213
Swathi	333
Tanaoli	108
European	21
Anglo-Indian	111

Religion

The population of the five administered districts and the Trans-Frontier posts is 2,471,527. Out of it, Muslims are 2,250,389; Hindus 156,628; Sikhs 47,935; Christians 16,499.⁴⁷ There are also 62 Zoroastrians, 11 Jews and 3 Buddhists.⁴⁸ The comparative strength of each religion per mille of the population is as follows:⁴⁹ Muslim 918, Hindu 59, Sikh 17, Christian 5, Zoroastrian, Jew and Buddhist 1. The distribution of each religion by districts is also informative:⁵⁰

<i>District</i>			<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Hindu</i>	<i>Sikh</i>	<i>Christian</i>
Hazara	..	..	636,794	25,260	7,630	432
Peshawar	..	..	898,683	42,321	24,271	8,974
Kohat	..	..	218,445	13,393	3,249	1,186
Bannu	..	..	237,674	26,181	5,482	964
Dera Ismail Khan	..	..	235,707	35,822	1,878	657

Muslims form an overwhelming majority in every district in the Province.⁵¹ They are 95 per cent in Hazara; in Dera Ismail Khan 86 per cent; in Bannu 88 per cent.⁵² The proportion of Hindus is 13 per cent in Dera Ismail Khan and 4 per cent in Hazara.⁵³ Sikhs are a little over 2 per cent in Peshawar and Bannu and less than one per cent in Dera Ismail Khan.⁵⁴ They are mostly immigrants, save in certain parts of Hazara.⁵⁵ Christians are largest in Peshawar where they are 8,974.⁵⁶

Muslims

The Province of North-West Frontier Muslims forms a Muslim majority population, but, like Baluchistan, it presents a social complex. The tribes of the

Province belong to different ethnic groups. Even in religion they follow different Islamic creeds. In the linguistic domain they are proud of their own indigenous languages. The Muslims of all tribes of the Province have their own history as well as their own cultural heritage. The living culture of the tribes makes them segregate as different cultural entities in the Muslim world of the Province. There are many Muslim sects—Sunni (1,208,417), Shia (35,461), Ahmadi (3,724), Ahl-i-Hadis (2,556) and Ismaili (202)—in the Province.⁵⁷ Their mutual sectional rivalries and their tribal consciousness preclude the possibility of a Muslim “national” solidarity in the Province of North-West Frontier.

Among the chief Muslim tribes the numerically strongest are Pathan, Awan, Gujar, Tanaoli, Sayyid and Jat.⁵⁸ Pathans are by far the largest and the predominant tribe in the Province.⁵⁹ They are spread over almost the whole of the trans-border tract and form about 37 per cent of the population of the districts.⁶⁰ Agriculture is their chief occupation.⁶¹ For many years past they also have taken to military or quasi-military service and built up their military traditions.⁶² In the northern and southern districts of the Province their number is few; but in Peshawar, Kohat and Bannu their numerical strength is enormous.⁶³ Especially in the Peshawar District more than half of their number is found while in Bannu and Kohat they are 59 and 63 per cent respectively of the total population of the Province.⁶⁴ The total Pathan population is 905,122.⁶⁵ The Khattak, the Yusafzai, the Marwat, the Mohmandi and the Muhammadzai are the leading Pathan tribes.⁶⁶

Awans come next to Pathans. They are the numerically strongest tribe and have many characteristics in

common with Pathans.⁶⁷ Awans also are agriculturists.⁶⁸ Their population in all districts is 280,995.⁶⁹

Jats are, to a large extent, immigrants.⁷⁰ There are 70,787 Muslim Jats who live mostly in the Dera Ismail Khan District.⁷¹

Nearly all Gujars are Muslim by religion; only 143 having returned their religion as Hindu or Sikh.⁷² Their home in the Province is Hazara and they are 15 per cent of the total population.⁷³

Sayyids are 81,972 in number.⁷⁴ The majority of them are agriculturists by profession, though some belong to the priestly caste.⁷⁵

Swathis and Tanaolis are Muslim by religion and practically confined to the Hazara District.⁷⁶ Their profession or occupation is agriculture.⁷⁷ The population of Tanaolis in all districts is 86,003, in Hazara alone 83,417.⁷⁸ The Swathi population in all districts comes to 46,556, but in Hazara they are 44,511.⁷⁹

Hindus

The all-district population of Hindus in the Province is 142,977.⁸⁰ This forms only 59 per mille of the total population of the districts.⁸¹ It is remarked that "the importance of the community, however, does not depend on its numbers, but on its trade, education and wealth which are out of all proportion to its numerical strength. Although the total strength of Hindus represents only 5.9 per cent of the population, yet among the literate population of the districts the proportion of Hindus is as high as 35 per cent. The Hindu population is largely immigrants or descended from persons who have recently migrated to the Province. The Hindus of the Province are traders or professional men by occupation

rather than agriculturists; are concentrated in urban rather than in rural areas and are city-dwellers by habit and inclination. Among the Muslim population of the districts only 11 per cent are found dwelling in urban areas, while among Hindus 65 per cent live in towns and cantonments and only 35 per cent in the country.⁸² Among the Hindus of the Province there are sects and sects, castes and castes. They make a loose knit society of people. The largest sect of Hindus is Sanatan Dharam (134,638).⁸³ The Arya Samaj sect has 6,682 followers.⁸⁴ The Vedic Dharam sect claims 1,144 as its adherents.⁸⁵ The sweeper sects have 3,356 believers.⁸⁶ The sects not-returned show a figure of 10,596.⁸⁷

Sikhs

In the population of the Province of North-West Frontier Sikhs form a small minority. Their total population in all districts is 42,510.⁸⁸ On the basis of an all-district population, they are 175 in every 10,000.⁸⁹ Though their numerical strength in the Province is too weak, they show a higher proportion of literacy than either of the two main religions.⁹⁰ Sikhs are, to a considerable extent, employed in the Army as well as in various services of the State.⁹¹

Christians

The Christian community is a very small minority of the Province.⁹² Its proportion per 10,000 of the all-district population is 50.⁹³

Literacy

The Province of North-West Frontier shows poor signs of literacy. Out of a total population of 2,471,527 in the districts and the Trans-Frontier posts, there are only 117,438 literates.⁹⁴ This figure gives a proportion of 56 literates per 1,000 of the total population.⁹⁵ The proportion of literacy by religion discloses the real condition of the people in the field of education and thereby their level of general progress in the Province. The literates per mille of the age of 5 and over among Muslims are 26; among Hindus 304; among Sikhs 375 and among Christians 785.⁹⁶ This means that the proportion of literacy is highest in the microscopic minority of Christians; approximately to one in three among Hindus and Sikhs and frightfully low among Muslims. Muslims are "a very long way behind the others in respect of literacy", because they form the bulk of agricultural population of the Province.⁹⁷ It is a patent fact that all over the world the proportion of literacy in urban areas is always higher than in rural areas. The lowest point in literacy is reached in the Hazara District because of 95 per cent of the Muslim rural population.⁹⁸ In Dera Ismail Khan Muslims are 86 per cent of the population and their percentage of literacy is higher than in Hazara.⁹⁹ Next to Dera Ismail Khan is Peshawar the most literate district.¹⁰⁰

Literacy in English

Literacy in English is also low in comparison with general literacy.¹⁰¹ The total number of literates in English is 11,264, giving a proportion of 21 per 1,000.¹⁰² Christians enjoy the first rank in literacy in English on account of "artificial circumstances."¹⁰³ After Chris-

tians, Sikhs and Hindus achieve the highest proportions of literacy in English: Sikhs 88 per mille among males and 4 per mille among females; Hindus 83 per mille among males and 4 per mille among females.¹⁰⁴ The literacy proportion among Muslims is 26 per mille males and only 2 per 10,000 females.¹⁰⁵ It is interesting to note that "the proportion of English knowing persons to literate persons is not far from one in eight in each of the three religions."¹⁰⁶ The proportion of literate Muslims is highest in Peshawar being 51 per mille males and 4 per mille females.¹⁰⁷ The Muslim literacy in Dera Ismail Khan is 45 per mille; in Kohat 44 per mille; in Hazara 31 per mille and in Bannu 27 per mille.¹⁰⁸ The proportion of literacy among Hindus is highest (478 per mille) in Hazara and lowest (335 per mille) in Bannu.¹⁰⁹ Dera Ismail Khan (470 per mille) comes next to Hazara in Hindu literacy.¹¹⁰ Sikhs have a slightly lower proportion of literacy than Hindus in Hazara.¹¹¹ The Sikh literacy in Peshawar city is 547 per mille; in Dera Ismail Khan 520 per mille and in Hazara 284 per mille.¹¹² The following tables show literacy by occupation and caste or tribe.¹¹³

<i>Traditional Occupation</i>	<i>Number of male literates per mille</i>				
	<i>Hindu & Sikh</i>	<i>Castes</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Tribes</i>	
Priesthood	Brahman ..	518	Sayyid	109	
Trade	Khatri ..	515	Jat	106	
Agriculture	Arora ..	392	Awan	67	
			Pathan	48	
			Swathi	47	
			Tanaoli	22	
			Gujar	16	
Scavenging	Chuhra ..	68			
Leather work	Chamar ..	29			

LITERACY IN ENGLISH BY TRIBE OR CASTE

<i>Tribe or Caste</i>	<i>Number per 10,000 literate in English</i>	
	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
Khatri	1,175	323
Brahman	1,030	115
Arora	806	82
Sayyid	299	29
Awan	167	29
Jat	135	..
Pathan	120	14
Chuhra	39	17
Swathi	38	1
Gujar	24	1
Chamar	21	5
Tanaoli	19	..

<i>Caste or Tribe</i>	<i>Proportion per mille literate in</i>
<i>Agriculture—</i>	
Awan	42
Gujar	10
Jat	66
Pathan	29
Swathi	27
Tanaoli	12
<i>Priests—</i>	
Brahman	411
Sayyid	62
<i>Traders—</i>	
Arora	268
Khatri	401
<i>Others—</i>	
Chamar	17
Chuhra	51

Languages

As a matter of fact many languages with their various dialects are spoken in the Province, but Pashto and Hindko are the only indigenous languages of importance.¹¹⁴ Pashto is the language of Pathans and is spoken by over 52 per cent of the population.¹¹⁵ It is also universally spoken in the tribal territory of the Province.¹¹⁶ Pashto is spoken by 1,290,484 persons plus 3,503,321 of the population of the tribal areas.¹¹⁷ Hindko is the language spoken by the non-Pathan elements of the Province.¹¹⁸ Hindko is synonymous with Lahnda.¹¹⁹ The numerical strength of its speakers is 1,036,657.¹²⁰ There are 16,789 Urdu-cum-Hindi or Hindustani-speaking persons in the Province.¹²¹ English is naturally the most important numerically of the European languages spoken in the Province. There are in all 11,665 English-speaking persons.¹²²

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CHAPTER THIRD

THE PUNJAB PROVINCE

Area

The Province of the Punjab is divided into two parts, the British territory and the Punjab States, for the purpose of administration.¹ The area of the British territory is 99,265 square miles or 72·5 per cent of the total area of the Province.² It is nearly equal to that of the United Kingdom.³ The British territory of the Province has five administrative divisions.⁴ The area of the Punjab States is 37,699 square miles or 27·5 per cent of the total area of the Province.⁵

Natural Divisions

The geographical divisions of the Province are more natural than the artificial administrative divisions. The physical and climatic features form its natural divisions thus:—⁶ (i) Indo-Gangetic Plain West; (ii) Himalayan; (iii) Sub-Himalayan; (iv) North-West Dry Area. The Himalayan division has country on both sides of the outer range of the Himalayas; the lower slopes, valleys and foot-hills are under cultivation; fertile tracts of land are numerous; mountain streams are utilized for irrigation purposes; grazing grounds are plentiful; timber and elm wood are in abundance; it is mild in summer and very severe in winter and has an average annual rainfall of 62 inches.⁷ The Sub-Himalayan division is a narrow strip of country, adjoining the

Himalayan, called sub-montane, into which run some of the spurs of the Himalayas.⁸ The lands in the vicinity of the foot-hills are watered by numerous hill torrents many of which lay a deposit of silt and thus add to the fertility of the soil.⁹ The three northern districts of this division are hilly in their features; but in the other districts the greater portion of the areas is a fairly level plain where depth to water is small and wells easy to work.¹⁰ The rainfall is fairly copious.¹¹

The Indo-Gangetic Plain West division is a level alluvial plain of the Punjab Province with its perennial canals, which irrigate the vast areas of most of the districts and States.¹² The extensive well-irrigation does the work of canal-watering where there are no canals.¹³ The average rainfall of this natural division is 20 inches.¹⁴

The North-West Dry Area has a small rainfall and a lower water-table as compared with the Indo-Gangetic Plain West.¹⁵ It is stated that "during the pre-canal period, i.e., less than forty years ago, it was for the most part a vast expanse of arid waste and the haunts of pastoral people, but now claims to be one of the biggest granaries of the world."¹⁶ A net-work of inundation canals has revolutionized the economic condition of several districts of this natural division and it resembles more than ever some of the districts of the Indo-Gangetic Plain.¹⁷

Population and Density

The Province of the Punjab with an area of 136,964 square miles has a population of 28,490,857.¹⁸ Its density is 208 persons per square mile.¹⁹ But the population and density of the British territory of the Province are 23,580,852 and 238 respectively.²⁰ The

population of the States of the Punjab is 4,910,005 and their density 130.²¹ In respect of area the Province is fourth in India.²² In point of population it occupies the sixth position in the whole of India and in matter of density it is the fifth among the Provinces.²³ The density of the Province varies widely in its different parts or regions, as the factors of relative fertility and productivity of soil of the different regions mainly depend upon canal irrigation or well-irrigation or other sources of irrigation.²⁴

Urban Population

The total urban population of the Punjab is 3,521,449 or 12·4 per cent of the total population of the Province.²⁵ The British territory urban percentage is 13 and that of the Punjab States 9·2.²⁶ The table below shows the comparative urban percentages of foreign countries and the Punjab:—²⁷

Punjab	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12·4
England and Wales (1931)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	80·0
Netherlands (1930)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	48·6
Canada (1921)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	49·5
France (1926)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	49·8

The urban population of the Province is distributed among 182 towns. Ninety-six towns with a population of between 5,000 and 10,000 each comprise the largest number.²⁸ Their population is 2·4 per cent of the total population or 19·1 per cent of the urban population.²⁹ There are 24 towns with a population of between 20,000 and 50,000 each and 51 towns with a population of less than 5,000 each whose total population forms only 0·6 per cent of the total population.³⁰ Only 5 towns have a population of more than 100,000 each and 6

towns with a population of between 50,000 and 100,000 each.³¹ The former class of towns forms 3·6 per cent of the total population, the highest proportion for any class, while the population of the latter is 1·5 per cent of the total population.³² The most popular towns are those whose population is between 5,000 and 10,000.³³ Since the last two decades the tendency of urbanization or the crowding of population into large towns has been most marked due to industrialization.³⁴ In the Province there are only 3 cities, Lahore, Amritsar and Multan, with a population of more than 1,000,000.³⁵ Rawalpindi and Sialkot exceed one lakh.³⁶ Jullundur is nearly a lakh.³⁷ Ludhiana is growing at a rapid pace.³⁸ Ambala and Ferozepore have a fairly large population.³⁹

Urban Population by Religion

The distribution per 10,000 of the total urban population by religion is for Hindu 3,765; Muslim 5,190; Sikh 726; Christian 190; others 129.⁴⁰ These figures indicate that on the whole proportionately more Hindus are urban than Sikhs and Muslims; their proportion in towns being considerably higher than in the total population.⁴¹ It may be observed in this connection that the Census Report does not furnish ample data in regard to the peculiarities of different parts of the urban Province. It is most interesting to learn that proportionately more Muslims are urban than Hindus in the Eastern Punjab, but in the Western Punjab more Hindus are urban than Muslims.⁴² Hindus generally predominate in the total population of the Eastern Punjab.⁴³ While the Western Punjab is predominantly Muslim, the urban population has a large proportion of Hindus.⁴⁴ It has also proportionately large number of the

urban Muslims.⁴⁵ We give below two tables showing (1) the number per mille of the total population of each religion who live in towns and (2) the number per 10,000 of urban population in the Punjab and by natural divisions:⁴⁶

Rural Population

The Punjab is a pre-eminently rural country, because the major portion of its population lives in villages.⁴⁷ The rural population of the Punjab Province is 24,969,408 or 87.6 per cent of the total population.⁴⁸ The British territory claims 20,513,388 as the strength of its rural population or 86.1 per cent of the total population.⁴⁹ The Punjab States are 90.8 per cent rural and their total rural population is 4,456,020.⁵⁰ In the whole rural population of the Punjab Province each community is distributed in the following order of percentage: (i) Hindu 29.1; (ii) Sikh 15.3; (iii) Muslim 52.5; (iv) Christian 1.4; (v) Others 1.7.⁵¹ In other words, in the Province of the Punjab, as a whole, Muslims exceed Hindus by 23.4 per cent; Sikhs by 37.2 per cent; Christians by 51.1 per cent; Others by 50.8 per cent. In the British territory Hindus are 25.4 per cent; Sikhs 13.9 per cent; Muslims 57 per cent; Christians 1.7 per cent and others 2 per cent of the rural population.⁵² This means that Muslims exceed Hindus by 41.6 per cent; Sikhs by 43.1 per cent; Christians by 55.3 per cent and others by 55 per cent. In the Punjab States Hindus are 46.5 per cent; Sikhs 21.5 per cent; Muslims 31.4 per cent; Christians 0.01 per cent; Others 0.05 per cent of the rural population.⁵³ That is, Hindus are 15.1 per cent more than Muslims; 25.5 per cent more than Sikhs; 46.49 per cent more than Christians; 46.45 per cent more than

<i>Natural Division</i>	<i>Popu- lation</i>	<i>Hindu</i>	<i>Ad- Dharmi</i>	<i>Sikb</i>	<i>Jain</i>	<i>Buddh- ist</i>	<i>Zoroas- trian</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Chris- tian</i>	<i>Jew</i>
Punjab	124	154	47	63	590	5	928	122	159	846
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West	166	280	75	60	536	826	975	213	169	800
Himalayan	33	26	..	179	165	..	667	145	668	1,000
Sub-Himalayan	106	153	16	67	834	818	974	95	180	857
North-West Dry Area	87	264	34	70	915	667	830	60	89	..

<i>Natural Division</i>	<i>Hindu</i>	<i>Ad- Dharmi</i>	<i>Sikb</i>	<i>Jain</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Chris- tian</i>	<i>Zoroas- trian</i>
Punjab	726	72	5,191	190	1
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West	791	87	5,097	157	1
Himalayan	226	8	1,987	287	..
Sub-Himalayan	734	89	5,578	347	1
North-West Dry Area	541	11	5,391	121	2

Others. The distribution of rural population by religion and natural divisions is instructive. In the Indo-Gangetic Plain West among the three major communities—Muslim, Hindu and Sikh—there is no marked predominance of either of these communities. Muslims are 3.1 per cent more than Hindus; 12.8 per cent more than Sikhs; 36.0 per cent more than Christians; 35.6 per cent more than Others.⁵⁴ In the Himalayan division Hindus are 89.9 per cent more than Muslims; 93.86 per cent more than Sikhs and 92.7 per cent more than Others.⁵⁵ Between 89 and 93 per cent of the rural population in the Himalayan division are Hindus. The rural Muslims predominate in the Sub-Himalayan division by 41 to 60 per cent. In other words, Muslims exceed Hindus by 41.5 per cent; Sikhs by 50.6 per cent; Christians by 60.8 per cent; Others by 60.6 per cent.⁵⁶ The North-West Dry Area has over 70 per cent of the Muslim rural population. This means that Muslims are 70.2 per cent more than Hindus; 73.6 per cent more than Sikhs; 79.3 per cent more than Christians; 79.4 per cent more than Others.⁵⁷ It will be of interest to learn the actual numerical strength of each religion in rural areas by Province, States and natural divisions. The table below illustrates the point:⁵⁸

<i>Locality</i>	<i>Hindu</i>	<i>Sikh</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Chris- tian</i>	<i>Others</i>
Punjab ..	7,274,075	3,816,034	13,101,961	352,608	424,730
British Territory	5,202,341	2,858,463	11,702,800	349,152	400,632
Punjab States ..	2,071,734	957,571	1,399,161	3,456	24,098
Indo- Gangetic Plain,					
West ..	3,697,624	2,647,566	4,021,716	164,598	200,962
Himalayan	1,662,739	7,346	70,750	858	29,367
Sub-Him- alayan ..	1,224,036	702,822	3,626,455	108,674	119,122
North- West					
Dry Area	689,676	458,300	5,383,040	78,478	75,279

The number per 10,000 of rural population by religion is tabled thus:⁵⁹

<i>Natural divi- sion</i>	<i>Hindu</i>	<i>Ad- Dhar- mi</i>	<i>Sikh</i>	<i>Jain</i>	<i>Mus- lim</i>	<i>Chris- tian</i>	<i>Zoroas- trian</i>	<i>Bud- dhist</i>
Punjab ..	2,913	160	1,528	7	5,247	141	..	3
Indo-Gange- tic Plain,								
West ..	3,445	172	2,467	15	3,747	153	..	..
Himalayan ..	9,388	121	41	1	399	5	..	43
Sub-Hi ma- layan ..	2,117	204	1,216	2	6,273	188	..	..
North-West								
Dry Area	1,032	112	686	..	8,053	117	..	..

Occupational Distribution

The British territory of the Province has a total of 8,516,690 as principal earners as well as 1,976,510 as working dependents.⁶⁰ The number per mille of earners

and working dependents engaged in different occupations is given below.⁶¹

<i>Occupation (by sub-class)</i>	<i>Number per mille of principal ear- ners and working dependents</i>
Production of raw material	636
I. Exploitation of animals and vegetation ..	635
(a) Cultivation	608
(b) Cultivation of special crops	1
(c) Forestry	2
(d) Stock-raising	24
(e) Raising of small animals .. ..	..
II. Exploitation of minerals	1
Preparation and supply of material substances ..	251
III. Industry	171
IV. Transport	21
V. Trade	59
Public administration and liberal arts	40
VI. Public force	10
VII. Public administration	9
VIII. Professions and liberal arts	21
Miscellaneous	73
IX. Persons living on their income	3
X. Domestic service	26
XI. Insufficiently-described occupations ..	23
XII. Unproductive	21

The comparison between principal earners and working dependents engaged in different occupations shows per mille of the total (all occupations) 812 earners and 188 working dependents.⁶² In the occupational category of production of raw materials there are 475

earners and 161 working dependents.⁶³ 230 earners and 21 working dependents earn their livelihood from the preparation and supply of material substances occupation.⁶⁴ In the occupation of public administration and liberal arts 39 earners and one working dependent are engaged.⁶⁵ In the miscellaneous occupations there are 68 earners and 5 working dependents.⁶⁶ This clearly shows that the bulk of working dependents is engaged in cultivation (81·6 per cent) and the majority of the rest in industry (9 per cent) and stock-raising (3·6 per cent).⁶⁷

The chief occupations followed by earners as subsidiary to some others are cultivation (171); industry (45) and trade (20) per 10,000 of the total population.⁶⁸ In other words, there are 2,989 earners (principal occupations) and 289 earners (subsidiary occupations).⁶⁹

Agriculture

Agriculture as an occupation of the people in the Province is of an overwhelming importance. Cultivation, as a premier industry, engages 6,380,714 workers (earners 4,767,522; working dependents 1,623,192; subsidiary earners 486,481).⁷⁰ In the principal occupation of agriculture, there are 320,673 as non-cultivating proprietors taking rent in money or kind: 3,546 as estate agents and manager owners, rent collectors, clerks etc.; 5,320,303 as cultivating owners and tenant cultivators; 736,028 as agricultural labourers.⁷¹ In this connection it may be mentioned that "a great majority of rent-receivers are also cultivators of some portion of their land, though they prefer to return the more dignified occupation of rent-receiving as their principal or

only occupation. There are almost half as many more persons returning rent-receiving as their subsidiary occupation (143,616) and there should be some more in this group who are now included as "Jagirdars," many of whom are in reality either rent-receivers or actual cultivators."⁷² The Census Report brings the fact to light that there has been a very big increase in the various categories of cultivators.⁷³ The chief reason for the total increase, no doubt, is that in the Punjab agriculture is the mainstay of the people and the other economic resources of the Province are apparently not in pace with the rate of increase in the population.⁷⁴ Hence agriculture leads all other occupations and professions. Under the occupational class, production of raw material, the sub-orders of occupation play a small part in the economic life of the Province.⁷⁵

Mineral Resources

The Punjab is poor in mineral resources. In the Rawalpindi Division there are the coal and salt mines, cement rock and petroleum fields.⁷⁶ Mining of metals like iron, lead, silver, zinc and manganese is entirely unknown.⁷⁷ The Jhelum and Shahpur Districts have salt ranges.⁷⁸ There are some coal mines in the Jhelum District also.⁷⁹ The Ambala Division is known for its saltpetre.⁸⁰

Industry

Out of every 1,000 persons 171 are engaged in industry.⁸¹ The total number of actual workers in industry is 1,791,609.⁸² The table below shows the actual number of workers engaged in different kinds of industry in the Province.⁸³

<i>Industry (by order)</i>	<i>Actual Number of workers</i>
Textiles	400,628
Hides and skins	16,992
Wood	196,691
Metals	83,847
Ceramics	168,710
Chemical products	47,806
Food industries	87,206
Industries of dress and the toilet	454,859
Furniture industries	1,099
Miscellaneous	311,091
Manufacturers, businessmen, contractors otherwise unspecified	11,256

The chief industries are confined to the supply of the primitive needs of agriculture or household.⁸⁴ But they also are dependent upon agriculture for their existence. It easily forms a strong and sustaining base for different kinds of industry in the Province. The important industrial centres of the Province are Lahore, Amritsar, Ambala, Gujrat, Jhelum and Gujranwala, where over 81 per mille of workers are engaged in industry.⁸⁵

Trade

Fifty-nine workers per mille are engaged in trade.⁸⁶ The actual number of workers in trade is 617,118.⁸⁷ The different lines of trade with actual workers are as follows:⁸⁸

<i>Trade (by order)</i>	<i>Actual number of workers</i>
Banking and Exchange	45,479
Brokerage and Commission Agents	10,299
Trade in textiles	53,478
Trade in skins	11,222
Trade in metals	4,160
Trade in pottery, bricks and tiles	3,034
Trade in chemical products	5,819
Trade in hotels, cafés, restaurants	12,855
Trade in pulse and food-stuff	167,788
Trade in toilet articles and clothing	9,445
Trade in furniture	2,898
Trade in building materials	964
Trade in means of transport	13,864
Trade in fuel	7,785
Trade in articles of luxury	5,973
Trade in other sorts	252,721

On the statistical basis, trade as an occupation also is intimately connected with agriculture and its allied pursuits. It has a formidable rural background and a field of rural activity. As the Province is predominantly rural, its industry and trade have a deep colour of ruralism. Though the centres of trade are in urban areas, trade as an occupation has much to depend on the rural world of the Province.

Administration and Public Force

Under this order of occupation there are 10 workers per mille in public force; 9 in public administration; 21 in professions and liberal arts.⁸⁹ In other words, 103,620 workers are engaged in public force; 96,716 in public administration; 213,427 in professions and liberal arts.⁹⁰ Religion as a profession engages 102,252 workers; legal profession 10,237; medical profession 29,685; educational profession 39,023.⁹¹ 32,230 workers follow the professions of letters, arts and sciences.⁹²

Occupation of Selected Castes

The social compositional gradation in relation to occupational pursuits discloses facts that eventually count in the dynamics or determinism of politics. The table below furnishes the necessary statistics:⁹³

<i>Caste by religion and traditional occupations</i>	<i>Number per mille of workers engaged in traditional occupation</i>	<i>Number of workers per mille of the total strength.</i>
<i>Cultivation—</i>		
Jat (Hindu)	827	500
Jat (Sikh)	843	371
Jat (Muslim)	756	330
Rajput (Hindu)	741	478
Rajput (Muslim)	736	328
Arain (Muslim)	768	323
Awan (Muslim)	750	337
Meo (Muslim)	782	553
Ahir (Hindu)	720	483
<i>Industrial Occupations—</i>		
Chamar (Hindu)	185	442
Chamar (Sikh)	276	355
Mochi (Muslim)	612	327
Chhimba (Hindu)	188	418
Chhimba (Muslim)	386	340
Dhobi (Muslim)	608	338
Chuhra (Hindu)	575	469
Julaha (Hindu)	227	538
Julaha (Muslim)	701	353
Tarkhan (Hindu)	446	402
Tarkhan (Muslim)	683	315
Kumhar (Hindu)	362	401
Kumhar (Muslim)	557	318
Lohar (Hindu)	345	463
Lohar (Muslim)	636	316
<i>Trade—</i>		
Aggarwal (Hindu)	745	312
Arora (Hindu)	655	308
Khatri (Hindu)	558	305
Sheikh (Muslim)	348	345

It may be observed here that in the traditional occupations with the exception of Muslim Tarkhans, Sheikhs and Hindu Aroras the proportion of workers in each caste has fallen.⁹⁴ Chamar, (both Hindu and Sikh) (proportionately more Hindus than Sikhs), Chhimba (both Muslim and Hindu), Hindu Julaha, Hindu Tarkhan and Lohar as castes have been discarding the traditional occupations.⁹⁵ In the total population of workers, Hindu Jat, Ahir and Rajput have a high proportion of workers.⁹⁶ In Industrial occupations the proportion of Chuhra, Chamar, Tarkhan, Lohar and Kumhar workers is very high though Chuhra and Chamars have, to a considerable extent, given up their traditional occupations.⁹⁷ Among the artisan classes the proportion of Hindu workers is higher than Muslim workers.⁹⁸ The total workers of different castes, which have trade as their traditional occupation, range between 305 and 312 per mille of the total population.⁹⁹ Aggarwal, a caste of the eastern Punjab, has a somewhat larger proportion than Arora or Khatri.¹⁰⁰ Sheikhs, with trade as their traditional occupation, are seldom traders.¹⁰¹ Brahmans in the Province are mainly agriculturists (167,969), more than 50 per cent of the earners being engaged in the exploitation of animals and vegetation and 44 per cent in cultivation pure and simple.¹⁰² The next highest percentage (18.2) of Brahmans, higher than all other castes except Sayyids, is engaged in professions and arts chiefly in vocations connected with religion which is their traditional occupation.¹⁰³ In trade they form 11.9 per cent of the total while in domestic service their percentage is 4.7.¹⁰⁴ In industry they are 2.7 per cent and in public administration only 2.5 per cent.¹⁰⁵

Religion

The Punjab is a land of religions—old and new, orthodox and ‘ultramontane.’ All shades of creeds and faiths are represented in the Province. Sects of all denominations have the life of the people under their domination. The Punjab is a conglomeration of sects and sects, groups and groups, castes and castes. There are major religions but their sects have a peculiarity of their own. There is no uniformity, cohesiveness and integration in the religious world of the Province. Religions, with all their demarcations, stand sphinx-like and overawe their adherents. Tendencies of segregationism in religions of the Punjab are most prominent. Idealistic religious movements have found a fertile soil in the Punjab, which are, to a great extent, responsible for creating ‘high tension’ in provincial life especially in urbanized areas.

Politics as religion has muddled all through in the Punjab. Qualities of compromise, adjustment, and mutual appreciation of a commonsense evaluation of thinking and living are conspicuous by their absence in the gamut of socio-political struggle. The rural Punjab is still sound and free from the high temper of the pathological urban Punjab. In urban areas religion is being exploited by communal interests in the arena of politics for the mastery of power. Against the background of the urban and rural Punjab economic factors are viewed not in the light of a rationalized economics. The domination of one communal group over another as socio-religious entities is the politics of the day. This is considered the bane of provincial life. Such communalized politics has so far failed miserably to solve the

politico-economic problem of the Punjab. Before the world, it stands condemned.

The Province presents such a confused picture of socio-religious composition that politics as religion only makes matters worse confounded. Religion as the basis of political struggle adversely and grievously affects the cordial relations among communities and communities because the Province abounds in set-patterns of religion and is a hot-bed of religious rivalries. Even the sects of major religions are distrustful. No common urge for "collectivization" of religious sects into a solid block of an uniform religion of either communities is perceptible. Each sect asserts its own individual existence, but resents and dreads the domination by major religion. Minorities are being swallowed by majorities of major religions. The communal phase of political alignment will, no doubt, redound to the advantage of majorities, but ultimately recoil on minorities of major religions. Thus in the game of communal politics minorities of major religions have not thrown in their lot with the majorities. To whip up the religious sentiment of the different groups of people to a pitch of fanaticism in politics is easy, but to adjust and harmonize, concede and recognize the socio-economic and religious-cultural interests of the minorities of major religions would be an impossible task. This will strangle the meshes of political forces and knock out the bottom of communalized politics.

The other side of the provincial picture, the distribution of various communities in regions of the Punjab, is more lucid and dreadful. Communalization of politics breaks into bits on the shoals of community distribution. The fact is that in the Province there are

all sorts of majority communities as well as minority communities of major religions spread over unspecified communal areas. All communities live in all areas—urban and rural. Some are predominantly Muslim in rural areas, while others are overwhelmingly Hindu in urban regions and *vice versa*. In some districts Hindus preponderate; in others Muslims. Along with these there are other religious minorities also interspersed between them. There is not a single region in the Province, either urban or rural, whose population can claim cent per cent adherents of a definite religion. The common feature is the interpermeation and integration of populations of people of all religions, whose socio-religious interests are specifically varied. The link that connects them is the economic functional factor and brings them in alignment with provincial life. Clash and strife between communities will come to a head, if their 'vested interests' are touched or thrown overboard or their socio-religious institutions are trifled with or cast to the wind. In this turmoil all communities will get involved because the majority communities of the Province by sheer weight and pressure of numbers will have the upper hand in the control of political forces and in the dictation of their terms to other minority communities. The Punjab forebodes a despicable sight of communal, inter-communal and intra-communal conflagration in the near future if the communalized politics reigns supreme.

In order to visualize the seriousness of communal bias in the politics of the Province, the social statistics reveal hard facts that bear out the above statement. The numerical strength of the followers of each religion is tabled below:¹⁰⁶

Thousand omitted

<i>Religion</i>					<i>Punjab</i>	<i>British Territory</i>	<i>Punjab States</i>
Muslim	..	..	..	..	14,930	13,332	1,597
Hindu	..	..	..	..	8,600	6,329	2,271
Sikh ..	..	..	..	..	4,072	3,064	1,007
Christian	..	..	..	..	419	415	5
Others	..	..	..	..	470	440	29

In other words, Muslims are 52·4, Hindus 30·2, Sikhs 14·9, Christians 1·48 per cent of the total population in the Punjab.¹⁰⁷ Percentages for the British territory and the Punjab States are given below:¹⁰⁸

<i>Religion</i>						<i>British Territory Per cent</i>	<i>Punjab States Per cent</i>
Muslim	..	..	..	..	..	56·54	32·53
Hindu	..	..	..	..	..	26·83	46·26
Sikh	..	..	..	..	..	12·99	20·56
Christian	..	..	..	..	..	1·74	0·09
Ad-Dharmi	..	..	..	..	..	1·69	0·16
Jain	..	..	..	..	..	0·15	0·16

Muslims

In the Province Muslims are in majority. Their total number is 13,332,460.¹⁰⁹ In the Punjab States their numerical strength is 1,597,436.¹¹⁰ The proportion of Muslims in the British territory and the Punjab States to the total population is 56·5 per cent and 32·5 per cent

respectively, but in the Province it is 52 per cent.¹¹¹ Muslims preponderate in 17 districts. The predominant strength of Muslims against Hindus, Sikhs, Christians and others in these districts is tabled below:¹¹²

<i>District</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Hindu</i>	<i>Depres- sed classes</i>	<i>Sikh</i>	<i>Chris- tian</i>	<i>Others</i>
Lahore ..	815,820	208,543	51,182	244,304	57,097	1,624
Gurdaspur ..	493,216	236,546	19,403	178,471	43,243	19
Sialkot ..	609,633	179,595	26,826	94,955	66,365	2,243
Gujranwala	521,343	87,397	5,367	71,595	49,364	1,072
Sheikhupura	445,996	59,411	22,476	119,477	49,266	106
Gujrat ..	786,750	69,975	3,381	59,188	3,097	36
Shahpur ..	679,546	82,874	7,687	40,074	11,294	15
Jhelum ..	482,097	35,536	532	22,030	672	209
Rawalpindi	524,965	56,174	3,311	41,265	7,486	1,156
Attock ..	531,793	31,443	489	19,522	710	3
Mianwali ..	357,109	49,219	575	4,231	380	25
Montgomery	697,542	104,357	32,426	148,155	17,245	47
Lyallpur ..	720,996	108,445	64,899	211,391	45,518	102
Jhang ..	552,853	101,845	1,145	8,476	494	20
Multan ..	942,937	166,124	15,905	39,453	9,924	557
Muzaffargarh	513,265	69,728	2,849	5,287	246	..
Dera Ghazi Khan ..	462,380	55,246	2,144	760	31	125

In the three districts (Jullundur, Ferozepore and Amritsar) their numerical strength is greater than that of any other community, the proportion being 44, 45 and 47 per cent respectively.¹¹³ In the Punjab States—Bahawalpur, Kapurthala and Maler Kotla—Muslims are 81, 57 and 38 per cent respectively.¹¹⁴

The sectional Muslim population of the Province is as follows: (1) Sunni; (2) Shia; (3) Reformed; (4) Sects analogous to other religions. The provincial figures of each Muslim sect are tabled below:¹¹⁵

SECTS—

Sunni	..	..	..	..	..	..	14,276,642
(a) Hanfi	..	..	..	..	..	..	24,289
(b) Shafi	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,230
(c) Miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	..	..	697
(d) Qadri	..	..	..	..	..	..	123
(e) Unspecified	..	..	..	..	..	..	14,250,303
Shia	..	..	..	..	..	..	338,779
Reformers	..	..	..	..	..	..	241,418
(a) Ahl-i-Quran	..	..	..	..	..	..	440
(b) Ahmadi	..	..	..	..	..	..	55,908
(c) Ahl-i-Hadis	..	..	..	..	..	..	182,544
(d) Mawahid	..	..	..	..	..	..	896
(a) Sects analogous to other religions	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,630
(b) Sects unspecified	..	..	..	..	..	..	73,057

This means that over 95 per cent of the Muslim population in the whole Province is Sunni and more than half the remainder is Shia.¹¹⁶ The reformed sects form 1.6, Ahmadi 0.4 and Ahl-i-Hadis 1.2 per cent of the total.¹¹⁷ It may be observed that the followers of Ahl-i-Hadis have increased by 202.6 per cent; Ahmadi by 94.0 per cent; Shia by 32.0 per cent; Sunni by 14.5 per cent.¹¹⁸ The reformed Muslim sects are vigorously active on the way of proselytization of the Muslim as well as non-Muslim population. Nearly all the Muslim sects in the Province have their organizations in urban areas and propagate their own 'Faith' as Islam through pulpit, platform and the press. These tendencies in the realm of Islam have weakened the inner strength of the Punjab Muslims as an 'indivisible community' and have been instrumental in breeding internal hostility and rivalry among different Muslim sects. In politics it is made to appear as an united community; but the social facts reveal its disunity, discord and aloofness.

Hindus

In the Province Hindus form a majority in six districts, whose population figures in relation to other communities are given below:¹¹⁹

<i>District</i>	<i>Hindu</i>	<i>Depressed classes</i>	<i>Sikh</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Chris- tian</i>	<i>Others</i>
Hissar ..	488,006	95,423	55,169	253,784	1,107	5,990
Gurgaon ..	386,275	106,899	500	242,357	1,463	2,669
Rohtak ..	559,709	96,254	596	137,880	4,807	6,375
Karnal ..	457,137	113,160	16,928	259,730	1,469	4,190
Simla ..	21,430	7,231	760	5,810	1,540	15
Kangra ..	642,325	109,773	2,396	40,483	576	5,759

In these districts their proportion ranges between 91 per cent (Kangra) and 65 per cent (Hissar).¹²⁰ In other two districts (Ambala and Hoshiarpur) they are most numerous as a community.¹²¹ In other words in the six eastern districts Hindus predominate, while in the six western districts Muslims are in a majority.¹²² Hindus constitute 9,325 of every 10,000 of the total population in the Himalayan; 3,504 in the Indo-Gangetic Plain; 2,235 in the Sub-Himalayan; 1,280 in the North-West Dry Area.¹²³ The percentage proportion of Hindus in urban as well as rural areas of the Punjab is 29.13 and 37.64 respectively.¹²⁴ Hindus enjoy a vast majority in the ten Punjab States, their proportion ranging between 99 per cent (Suket) and 75 per cent (Jind) and are in large numbers as a community in the States of Kalsia and Nabha with proportions of 48 and 46 respectively.¹²⁵

Of all the religious communities of the Province, Hindu community is more horizontal than vertical.

Its social composition is variegated and differentiated. Sects and castes determine the order of the provincial Hindu society. Though the impact of urbanized culture on Hindus is perceptible, they have not drifted away from their moorings. The old strings are still too strong to let them move with the changing spirit of modern world. Their enmeshed existence in the society of sects and sub-sects, castes and sub-castes is a hidden danger for their own political progress. The view is advanced that political freedom will break all their shackles; but history teaches us that they undoubtedly have changed but not in keeping with the spirit of time. Their evolution is caste-dictated-and-conditioned.

Caste is synonymous with society. It privileges the social status of Hindus in an hierarchical order as opposed to the democratic principle of life. Such a system of social governance weakens its own fulcrum to such an extent that its own crash will be witnessed when it comes in contact with the socio-economic dynamics of modern world. For controlling and sustaining political power as a community, lurking dangers will forge ahead. Its forcible constituent parts, not co-adhesive but heterogeneous, will fly at a tangent in the scramble for political power and mastery and lead to overdomination, oppression and nepotism of the worst order. This phase of political life in the Provinces of India is being witnessed, on a small scale, in nearly all major communities with the transference of political power to Indian hands. The caste-mind in the political control of India will work havoc. In future, the principle of democracy only could work to the advantage of all the people of our country, if the community-cum-sect-cum-caste basis of society of

all communities is overhauled in the light of democratic way of thinking and living. So long as political communities as Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian and Others with their marked and distinctive qualities of segregationalism exist in India not only the spirit of community but also of inter-community and intra-community of all major communities will determine the trend of events.

In the Province the numerical strength of all Hindu sects is 8,599,720.¹²⁶ The main Hindu sects are grouped under six heads whose proportionate figures are tabled below:¹²⁷

<i>Sects</i>						<i>Their proportion</i>
Old Sects	..	..	..	..	..	7,600,641
(a) Orthodox Hindus (Sanatan Dharm)	..	..				7,567,735
(b) Religious orders	..	..	..	..	..	5,232
(c) (i) Saint worshippers	..	..	..	..	..	22,028
(ii) Sects worshipping Muslim saints in addition to their own gods	..	..	..	..	..	5,646
Reformers	..	..	..	..	..	478,456
(a) Arya	..	..	..	..	..	469,864
(b) Dev Dharam	..	..	..	..	..	1,403
(c) Nanak Panthi	..	..	..	..	..	1,641
(d) Radhaswami	..	..	..	..	..	5,386
Sects of low castes	..	..	..	..	..	299,954
Miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	..
(a) Minor sects	..	..	..	..	..	29,600
(b) Castes returned as sects	..	..	..	..	..	26,564
Sects analogous to other religions	..	..	..	..	..	8,713
Unspecified	..	..	..	..	..	115,792

Of the "Old Sects" the orthodox Hindus or Sanatanists claim 88 per cent of the total; sects worshipping

saints and religious orders are only 0.38 per cent of the total Hindu population. Of the bulk of Hindu population the reformed group is 5.6 per cent of the total Hindu population.¹²⁸

Sikhs

The total population of Sikhs in the Province is 4,071,624.¹²⁹ In the British territory they number 3,064,144; in the Punjab States Agency 996,626; in other Punjab States 10,854.¹³⁰ Sikhs are chiefly found in Central Punjab where they are most numerous as a community.¹³¹ The predominance of the Sikh population in areas is given below:¹³² (1) The Kasur and Chunian Tahsil of the Lahore District; (2) the Tarn Taran and Amritsar Tahsils of the Amritsar District; (3) the Garshankar and Hoshiarpur Tahsils in the Hoshiarpur District; (4) the Rupar sub-division of Ambala and parts of Kaithal sub-division and the Jhanesar Thana of the Karnal District; (5) nearly the whole of the Patiala State; (6) the major portion of the Sirsa Thana of the Hissar District; (7) the whole of the Ludhiana and Jullundur Districts, the States of Kapurthala, Malar Kotla, Faridkot and Nabha; (8) a considerable portion of the Ferozepore District.

In the Punjab States of Faridkot and Patiala the proportional percentage of Sikhs is 57 and 39 respectively.¹³³ In other words within the circle of Central Punjab they are approximately two and a half millions and outside one and a half millions.¹³⁴ Their proportion diminishes with the distance from the circle.¹³⁵ In no district of the Punjab, Sikhs have a clear majority.¹³⁶ In Ludhiana alone they are more numerous than Hindus or Muslims.¹³⁷

There are many sects among Sikhs. The bulk of the Sikh population (i.e., 88·1 per cent of the total) belongs to the Kesdhari sect, while only 6·9 per cent are Sehjdhari.¹³⁸ Kesdhari are mostly found in Hoshiarpur (35,916), Montgomery (31,530) and Jullundur (27,805).¹³⁹ Their total numerical strength is 3,588,829.¹⁴⁰ The Keshdhari sect has its 13 sub-sects. Among them the Tat-Khalsa, Hazuri and Nanak Panthi occupy a prominent position.¹⁴¹ The adherents of the Sehjdhari sect with its 7 sub-sects are 281,903.¹⁴² The remaining 5 per cent of the Sikh population is composed of "sects analogous to other religions" or "miscellaneous sects."¹⁴³

In the Sikh community there is a tendency to do away with the sub-sect differentiations in the interest of the community as a whole.¹⁴⁴

Jains

In the Province Jains are 43,140.¹⁴⁵ Nearly half of their total number are found in the districts of the Ambala Division, chiefly in Hissar, Rohtak and Karnal.¹⁴⁶ Jains form 0·14 per cent of the total population of the British territory.¹⁴⁷ Jains have sects as well as castes.¹⁴⁸

Buddhists, Zoroastrians, Jews

There are in all 7,753 Buddhists in the Province.¹⁴⁹ Their major population resides in the Kangra District as well as in the Bashahr and Chamba States.¹⁵⁰ Zoroastrians are 569 and Jews 13.¹⁵¹

Christians

The numerical strength of Christians in the Province is 419,353.¹⁵² Of these, Europeans and allied races

constitute 20,099 or 4·8 per cent, Anglo-Indians 3,625 or 0·9 per cent and Indian Christians 395,629 or 94·3 per cent.¹⁵³ The Indian Christians are most numerous in the Indo-Gangetic Plain West chiefly in Sheikhpora, Gujranwala and Lahore, their proportion being 7·07, 6·71 and 4·14 per cent respectively.¹⁵⁴ In the Sub-Himalayan division they are 31·6 per cent of the total Christian population; in the North-West Dry Area one-fifth of the Christian population resides.¹⁵⁵ Districts, having a fairly large number of Christians, are Lyallpur (45,000), Shahpur (11,000) and Montgomery (17,000).¹⁵⁶ Their greatest number proportionately is found in the Simla District and their smallest in Dera Ghazi Khan.¹⁵⁷ In the States of Loharu, Dujana, Bilaspur, Patiala and Suket their proportion varies between 1 and 6 per 10,000 of the total population.¹⁵⁸ All Christians are followers of different Christian sects.

The Depressed Classes (inclusive of Ad-Dharmi)

In the Punjab Province the numerical strength of the depressed classes (inclusive of Ad-Dharmi and the Hindu depressed castes, Bawaria, Chamar, Chuhra, Dugi and Koli, Dumna, Megh, Od, Ramdasi, Sansi and Sarira) is 1,798,623 or 632 per 10,000 of the total population.¹⁵⁹ The British territory claims 1,310,709 as its population of the depressed class.¹⁶⁰ There are 487,914 depressed people in the Punjab States.¹⁶¹ Although Bawaria, Chamar, Chuhra, Ramdasi and Sansi belong to the depressed classes, yet they are Hindu, Sikh and Ad-Dharmi.¹⁶² The following figures show the distribution of the Ad-Dharmi population according to natural divisions:¹⁶³

<i>Natural Division</i>	<i>Population</i>
Ad-Dharmi	418,789
Indo Gangetic Plain West.. .. .	199,711
Himalayan	121,420
Sub-Himalayan	119,790
North-West Dry Area	77,868

Tribes and Castes

Of all the religions existing in the Province tribes or castes have to a great extent determined their social texture and feature in spite of new influences.¹⁶⁴ There are 56 tribes or castes in the whole of the Punjab.¹⁶⁵ Due to social reform movements in various communities, the Punjab is witnessing no gradual absorption of tribes or castes into communities—Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian—but a definite rise of a lower strata of society. Lower castes or sub-castes are ardent to align themselves with a higher caste stratification in order to obtain social precedence and economic gain.¹⁶⁶ In urbanized areas such tendencies as the relaxation of caste restrictions against social intercourse are marked but no lively signs of doing away with the institution of caste as a social determinant are perceptible. In rural areas castes have more of an occupational bias but are in effective measure keeping within bounds their folk from getting mixed up in the total agricultural population of the Punjab. A no-caste agricultural community in the Province is a social fact. Even in the urbanized Punjab the existence of a general no-caste or no-tribe community that has formed a nucleus of heterogeneous

elements—racial, religious, social, cultural—on a democratic basis of society is unthinkable.

People of the modern way of thinking and living often assert that the institution of caste as a social control is a thing of the past. They talk tall and loud about this social fact but even they succumb to the clenching laws of caste on occasions of religio-social importance. This class of people forms a most infinitesimal minority in India generally and in the Punjab particularly. Social life with all its ways and expressions conforms to the caste or tribal spirit even in the Province. The reformed religious groups themselves have formed into esoteric 'castes.' Their distinctive feature is esoterical as a religious group but their propagandic peculiarity is exoterical. These are not inclusive but exclusive of other religious groups and shun to interpermeate the whole social fabric. They dread their own existence as a socio-religious entity by doing so, while the orthodox religious groups have a natural disliking for the reformed groups and refuse to take them as their own unless they disown their 'rebellious' or heretic spirit. Thus caste rules in communal, inter-communal and intra-communal matters.

Actual and proportional figures of castes classified according to their traditional occupation are tabled below:¹⁶⁷

<i>Group and Caste</i>	<i>Strength (ooo's omitted)</i>	<i>Proportion per mille of the popu- lation of the Province</i>
AGRICULTURISTS	12,332	430
Jat	6,070	213
Rajput	2,352	83
Arian	1,331	47
Awan	539	19
Kanet	306	11
Kamboh	240	8
Ghirath	124	4
Meo	133	5
Saini	165	6
Rathi	134	5
Dagi and Koli	182	6
Pathan	350	12
Ahir	222	8
Mali	86	3
AGRICULTURE AND CATTLE		
BREEDING	696	24
Gujjar	696	24
TRADE	2,086	73
Aggarwal	379	13
Arora	776	27
Khatti	516	18
Sheikh	415	15
CRIME, HUNTING AND FLOWERS	97	3
Bawaria	32	1
Mahtam	65	2
CRIME	40	1
Harni	3	..
Pakhiwara	4	..
Sansi	33	1
CAMEL DRIVING	624	22
Biloch	624	22
PRIEST	1,353	47
Brahman	1,059	37
Sayyid	294	10
SHOE-MAKING	1,692	60
Chamar including Ramadasia	1,219	43
Mochi	472	17
DYEING	96	3
Chhima	96	3

<i>Groups and Caste</i>	<i>Strength (occ's omitted)</i>	<i>Proportion per mille of the popu- lation of the Province</i>
TAILORS	46	2
Darzi	46	2
SWEEPING	1,093	58
Chuhra	681	24
Mussalli	412	14
WASHING	176	6
Dhobi	176	6
BEGGING	531	19
Faqir	287	10
Mirasi	244	9
WATER-CARRYING	370	13
Jhiwar including Kahar	370	13
WEAVING	875	31
Julaha	672	24
Kashmiri	203	7
EARTHEN WORK	620	22
Kumhar	620	22
ARTISAN	1,148	41
Lohar	334	12
Sunar	160	6
Tarkhan	654	23
BAKING AND WATER-CARRYING	315	11
Machhi	315	11
SHAVING	381	13
Nai	381	13
BUTCHER	127	4
Qasab	127	4
OIL PRESSING	346	12
Teli	346	12

Castes with occupational bias have their own laws and taboos. Among major religions of the Province castes have their dictation and order of social precedence. It is instructive to note that Hindus and Muslims are found in different ratios in the following castes:¹⁶⁸ (1) Ahir (2) Arian (3) Faqir (4) Ghosi (5) Mirasi (6) Mochi (7) Od (8) Kashmiri. Hindus, Muslims and

Sikhs also belong to the following castes:¹⁶⁹ (1) Arora (2) Chamar and Mochi (3) Darzi (4) Dhobi (5) Jat (6) Julaha (7) Lohar (8) Tarkhan (9) Mahtam (10) Nai (11) Rajput (12) Sansi (13) Sunar (14) Teli (15) Kamboh (16) Kumhar. Hindus, Sikhs and Christians have Chamar and Mochi as their castes.¹⁷⁰ In the Bawaria caste there are Hindus as well as Sikhs.¹⁷¹ The caste of Aggarwalas has Hindus and Jains within its fold.¹⁷² Though castes are under the domination of major religions, the laws of castes are more effective and decisive in the lives of the people than the dictates of the major religions. These caste groups are stumbling blocks in the way of nationalizing the life of millions of people in the Province.

Literacy

The proportion of literacy per mille aged over 5 years is higher in the Province than in the contiguous Provinces and States such as the North-West Frontier Province, Rajputana Agency, Jammu and Kashmir State and the United Provinces.¹⁷³ The following tables illustrate the actual figures of literacy:¹⁷⁴

I

<i>Territorial Divisions</i>	<i>Literate aged 5 years and over</i>			
	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Proportion per mille of each sex</i>	
			<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Punjab	1,258,742	163,200	95	15
British Territory ..	1,097,044	150,713	100	17
Punjab States ..	161,698	12,487	70	7

II

	<i>Literate aged 20 years and over</i>	
	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
British Territory	768,475	84,440

The most advanced districts of the Province in point of male literacy are Ludhiana, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Jhelum, Amritsar, Ambala, Hoshiarpur, Jullundur, Kangra, Shahpur and Multan.¹⁷⁵ Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Karnal, Gurgaon, Hissar and Rohtak are the most backward districts in point of literacy.¹⁷⁶

The distribution of literacy by religion shows that the minor communities of the Province are more literate than the major communities. Europeans and Anglo-Indians have a larger proportion of literacy, while Zoroastrians are a good second.¹⁷⁷ In general literacy, Hindus and Sikhs are more or less equal but they lag very much behind Jains (who as a rule belong to the trading classes, namely, Aggarwal).¹⁷⁸ Literacy among Muslims is about the lowest.¹⁷⁹ In other words, it is not only small among Muslims of all ages but the number of literates per mille of (school-going) ages 5-10 and 10-15 is even now less than half that of Hindus.¹⁸⁰ The Muslim proportion drops to about one-third in the higher ages; the Hindu and Sikh proportions go up at ages over 15.¹⁸¹ The following table bears out the statement:¹⁸²

LITERACY BY AGE BOTH SEXES AND RELIGION

Number per mille who are literate (both sexes)*

<i>Religion</i>	<i>All ages Total</i>	<i>5 and over</i>	<i>5-10</i>	<i>10-15</i>	<i>15-20</i>	<i>20 and over</i>
Punjab all religions ...	59	110	35	79	157	128
Hindu	90	168	52	113	221	198
Ad-Dharmi	16	31	11	22	45	36
Sikh	82	152	50	110	209	196
Jain	302	572	197	390	719	677
Buddhist	65	134	18	25	117	177
Zoroastrian	529	1,039	565	812	827	1,167
Muslim	34	63	23	51	99	69
Christian	102	198	70	123	870	240
Christian (European)	626	1,143	668	914	1,227	1,179
Christian (Indian) ..	66	132	54	104	187	152
Jew	250	543	1,000	..	..	500

Literacy by vernaculars, namely, Urdu, Hindi and Gurmukhi is also recorded and it is tabled thus:¹⁸³

I—PUNJAB

<i>Religion</i>	<i>All verna- culars</i>	<i>Urdu</i>	<i>Hindi</i>	<i>Gurmukhi</i>
All religions	1,272,301	908,521	216,296	198,484
Hindu	582,126	362,142	198,464	51,861
Ad-Dharmi	5,540	2,073	338	3,228
Sikh	246,375	112,696	11,533	141,171
Muslim	411,925	409,048	2,084	1,778
Christian	17,343	16,804	369	334

* The proportion is calculated on the population of the age-period and not on the total population.

II—BRITISH TERRITORY

All Religions	..	1,133,022	839,252	173,193	167,112
Hindu	..	503,694	326,550	159,060	40,974
Ad-Dharmi	..	5,413	2,060	335	3,121
Sikh	..	212,617	104,556	9,363	114,536
Muslim	..	386,468	384,494	1,241	1,071
Christian	..	17,062	16,452	353	322

III—PUNJAB STATES

All Religions	..	139,279	69,269	43,103	38,372
Hindu	..	78,432	35,592	39,404	10,887
Ad-Dharmi	..	127	13	3	107
Sikh	..	33,704	8,140	2,170	26,633
Muslim	..	25,457	24,554	843	707
Christian	..	372	352	16	12

This means that a large majority of the people are literate in Urdu, their number being double that of literates in other vernaculars put together.¹⁸⁴ The strength of Hindi and Gurmukhi is about equal.¹⁸⁵ The number of literates among Hindus despite their numerical inferiority is much greater than that among Muslims, who claim a larger number of literates in Urdu.¹⁸⁶ The number of Hindu literates in Hindi is one-half of those literates in Urdu.¹⁸⁷ Gurmukhi is the vernacular of Sikhs and there are more Sikhs as literate in Gurmukhi than in Urdu, more particularly in the Punjab States.¹⁸⁸

Literacy by castes brings out the fact that certain castes, such as Aggarwal, Khatri and Arora attain a prominently high percentage of literacy and their literacy figures compare favourably even with those of Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Zoroastrians specially between the ages of 15 and 40.¹⁸⁹ Literacy among Brahmans, Sayyids and Sheikhs seems to be fairly large and among

Pathans and Kashmiris to a lesser extent.¹⁹⁰ The agricultural castes are very backward but the depressed classes the most backward in literacy.¹⁹¹

Literacy in English

In the British territory of the Province only 249,607 persons (both sexes inclusive) are literate in English.¹⁹² Excluding the Europeans and Anglo-Indians the number of literates in English falls to 239,123.¹⁹³ This means that 24 persons per mille of the total population aged 5 years and over are literate in English.¹⁹⁴ Among the natural divisions of the Province, the Himalayan is more backward than the North-West Dry Area.¹⁹⁵ The literacy in English is most wide-spread among castes noted below in the table.¹⁹⁶

Caste	Literate in English Number per 10,000 of the total strength of each caste	
	Males	Females
Aggarwal	383	13
Arora	350	23
Brahman	379	17
Kashmiri	336	26
Khatri	1,048	67
Pathan	291	17
Sayyid	392	20
Sheikh	448	34

Khattris lead in the literacy in English. Sheikhs, Sayyids, Aggarwals, Brahmans and Aroras come next in the order.

Languages

The Punjab is a home of languages. Many major and minor languages are spoken in the Province. The physical features of the country have determined and well-marked the linguistic borders, though there are no sharp separate divisions of linguistic areas.¹⁹⁷ The chief languages of the Province are Hindustani, Rajasthani, Punjabi, Lahnda, Western Pahari, Balochi and Pashto.¹⁹⁸ In the south-east of the Province Hindustani is spoken and it comes into contact with Rajasthani on its southern border while passing through Gurgooan, Hissar and Ferozepore.¹⁹⁹ Hindustani, as an all-embracing term, includes Urdu and Hindi with all the nuances of its rural dialects.²⁰⁰ The language spoken in rural tracts is called Deswali as opposed to Bagoi.²⁰¹ Hindustani dialects are also named after tribes such as Jatki.²⁰² Hindustani so classified is spoken by 3,988,000 persons in the Province. The Hindustani-speaking bulk of the population of the Ambala division is 3,182,000.²⁰³ In the British territory there are 132,298 persons who speak Hindustani.²⁰⁴

Punjabi is mostly spoken in the Sub-Himalayan division and the central districts, while Lahnda (Western Punjabi) in the bulk of the North-West Dry Area.²⁰⁵ The number of the Punjabi speakers is 14,515,090 or 509 per mille of the population.²⁰⁶ It may be remarked here that there is a tendency in the Province towards the adoption of Urdu or Hindi in favour of Punjabi.²⁰⁷ This is being witnessed in large urban areas only due to communal propaganda of Hindus as well as Muslims, but Punjabi retains its position as a language of the rural Punjab.

Lahnda (Western Punjabi) has many dialects and is spoken by 7,378,252 persons.²⁰⁸ The dividing line between Lahnda and Punjabi proper passes through the districts of Gujrat, Gujranwala, Sheikhupura and Montgomery.²⁰⁹

Western Pahari of the Himalayan division is spoken by 1,691,000 persons.²¹⁰ The language shows a downward curve in favour of Punjabi by a large number of Pahari-speaking people.²¹¹

Rajasthani claims 613,000 persons as its speakers.²¹² It has its various dialects such as Bagri of the Ferozepore and Hissar border, Mewati (the language of the Mees of Gurgooan), Jaipuri, Marwari etc.²¹³ It is observed that the border line between Rajasthani and Hindustani would seem to be rather vague.²¹⁴

Minor Languages

Pashto is spoken by 93,000 persons and its speakers are found in the trans-Indus portion of Mianwali and some riparian villages of Attock.²¹⁵ It cannot claim a position of an indigenous language of the Province and can easily be replaced by Lahnda in Attock and Mianwali where Lahnda is spoken by the Pashto-speaking population.²¹⁶ In other districts—Multan, Shahpur, Montgomery, Lahore, Dera Ghazi Khan, Rawalpindi and Bahawalpur—Punjabi, Hindustani and other languages of the Province can take the place of Pashto.²¹⁷

Balochi is the mothertongue of 61,000 persons and is spoken in the western parts of Dera Ghazi Khan, the other places with any considerable number being Multan and Bahawalpur.²¹⁸ It is a language that is confined to a very small area and the bulk of the

Biloch tribe does not speak Balochi.²¹⁹ It can also be replaced by the provincial language of the region.

The Tibeto-Chinese languages are spoken by immigrants and have no importance for the Province.²²⁰ Kashmiri, spoken by 22,000 persons, is the language of the immigrant Kashmiris who have settled down in large urban areas, particularly Amritsar.²²¹ Punjabi and Hindustani can easily become the language of Kashmiris who speak them.²²² It is a 'tribal' language and can claim no position as a provincial language.

Sindhi is spoken by 12,000 persons, particularly in the Bahawalpur State.²²³ In other parts of the Province it has no importance of its own as a language. Nepali, Odki, Persian, Bhili, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, Arabic, Central Pahari and other minor languages are only the languages of immigrant settlers and can have no claim in the Province as languages.²²⁴

English has been returned as the mothertongue of 26,204 persons.²²⁵ Of the persons having English as their mothertongue, 4,067 speak Punjabi; 3,474 Hindustani and 410 some vernaculars as a subsidiary language.²²⁶

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¹ Census of India, 1931, Punjab, Part I—Report, Vol. XVII., Lahore, 1933, p. 2. ² *ibid.* p. 2. ³ *ibid.* p. 11. ⁴ *ibid.* pp. 3, 7.

(i) Ambala Division

Area 15,013 square miles

Population 4,077,565

Density 272

(ii) Jullunder Division

Area 18,842 square miles

Population 4,606,446

Density 244

(iii) Lahore Division

Area 12,217 square miles

Population 5,879,075

Density 481

(iv) Rawalpindi Division

Area 21,388 square miles

Population 3,914,849

Density 183

(v) Multan Division

Area 31,805 square miles

Population 5,102,917

Density 160

⁵ *ibid.* p. 3. (Of these, 30 States have political relations with the Punjab Government and 13 States have political relations with the Government of India. It may be mentioned that their closeness to the Province and their geographical positions, not their size or status, are of great importance for the future upbuilding of the Punjab as a country). ⁶ *ibid.* p. 3. ⁷ *ibid.* pp. 4, 5. ⁸ *ibid.* p. 5. ⁹ *ibid.* p. 5. ¹⁰ *ibid.* p. 5. ¹¹ *ibid.* p. 5. ¹² *ibid.* p. 5. ¹³ *ibid.* p. 5. ¹⁴ *ibid.* p. 5. ¹⁵ *ibid.* p. 5. ¹⁶ *ibid.* p. 5. ¹⁷ *ibid.* pp. 4, 5. ¹⁸ *ibid.* p. 11. ¹⁹ *ibid.* p. 11. ²⁰ *ibid.* p. 11. ²¹ *ibid.* p. 11. ²² *ibid.* p. 11. ²³ *ibid.* p. 11. ²⁴ *ibid.* pp. 13, 38. ²⁵ *ibid.* pp. 89, 90. ²⁶ *ibid.* p. 89. ²⁷ *ibid.* p. 90. ²⁸ *ibid.* p. 91. ²⁹ *ibid.* p. 91. ³⁰ *ibid.* p. 91. ³¹ *ibid.* p. 91. ³² *ibid.* p. 91. ³³ *ibid.* p. 92. ³⁴ *ibid.* p. 92. ³⁵ *ibid.* p. 93. ³⁶ *ibid.* p. 93. ³⁷ *ibid.* p. 93. ³⁸ *ibid.* p. 93. ³⁹ *ibid.* p. 93. ⁴⁰ *ibid.* p. 96. ⁴¹ *ibid.* p. 96. ⁴² *ibid.* p. 96. ⁴³ *ibid.* p. 96. ⁴⁴ *ibid.* p. 96. ⁴⁵ *ibid.* p. 96. ⁴⁶ *ibid.* pp. 100, 321. ⁴⁷ *ibid.* p. 89. ⁴⁸ *ibid.* pp. 89, 97. ⁴⁹ *ibid.* pp. 89, 97. ⁵⁰ *ibid.* p. 98. ⁵¹ *ibid.* p. 98. ⁵² *ibid.* p. 98. ⁵³ *ibid.* p. 98. ⁵⁴ *ibid.* p. 89. ⁵⁵ *ibid.* p. 89. ⁵⁶ *ibid.* p. 89. ⁵⁷ *ibid.* p. 89. ⁵⁸ *ibid.* p. 89. ⁵⁹ *ibid.* p. 321. ⁶⁰ *ibid.* p. 214. ⁶¹ *ibid.* p. 214. ⁶² *ibid.* p. 215. ⁶³ *ibid.* p. 215. ⁶⁴ *ibid.* p. 215. ⁶⁵ *ibid.* p. 215. ⁶⁶ *ibid.* p. 215. ⁶⁷ *ibid.* p. 216. ⁶⁸ *ibid.* p. 218. ⁶⁹ *ibid.* p. 218. ⁷⁰ *ibid.* p. 220. ⁷¹ *ibid.* p. 220. ⁷² *ibid.* p. 220. ⁷³ *ibid.* p. 221. ⁷⁴ *ibid.* pp. 221, 222. ⁷⁵ *ibid.* pp. 224, 225. ⁷⁶ *ibid.* p. 225. ⁷⁷ *ibid.* p. 225. ⁷⁸ *ibid.* p. 225. ⁷⁹ *ibid.* p. 225. ⁸⁰ *ibid.* p. 225. ⁸¹ *ibid.* p. 214. ⁸² *ibid.* p. 226. ⁸³ *ibid.* p. 226. ⁸⁴ *ibid.* p. 226. ⁸⁵ *ibid.* p. 225. ⁸⁶ *ibid.* p. 214. ⁸⁷ *ibid.* p. 228. ⁸⁸ *ibid.* p. 228. ⁸⁹ *ibid.* p. 230. ⁹⁰ *ibid.*

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p. 273. ¹⁹⁹ *ibid.* p. 273. ²⁰⁰ *ibid.* p. 275. ²⁰¹ *ibid.* p. 275. ²⁰² *ibid.*
p. 275. ²⁰³ *ibid.* p. 275. ²⁰⁴ *ibid.* p. 275. ²⁰⁵ *ibid.* p. 273. ²⁰⁶ *ibid.*
p. 274. ²⁰⁷ *ibid.* p. 275. ²⁰⁸ *ibid.* p. 275. ²⁰⁹ *ibid.* p. 274.
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p. 276. ²¹⁴ *ibid.* p. 276. ²¹⁵ *ibid.* p. 276. ²¹⁶ *ibid.* p. 276. ²¹⁷ *ibid.*
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p. 276. ²²² *ibid.* p. 276. ²²³ *ibid.* p. 277. ²²⁴ *ibid.* pp. 277, 278.
²²⁵ *ibid.* p. 276. ²²⁶ *ibid.* p. 276.

CHAPTER FOURTH
THE UNITED PROVINCES

Area

The total area of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh is 112,191 square miles.¹ The British territory of the Province is 106,248 square miles, while the States have an area of 5,943 square miles.² It is a little smaller than the British Isles and its population is a shade larger.³

Natural and Administrative Divisions

The British territory of the Province has 48 districts which are divided into 10 administrative divisions according to "historical, political and administrative conditions."⁴ These vary considerably in size, density of population and physical features, but a limited number of areas are fairly homogeneous in respect of physical features and inhabitants.⁵ The districts are grouped into eight natural zones, which "are based on differences mainly geological and meteorological but also agricultural, linguistic and ethnological."⁶ It is stated that "the main physical features of the Province are the Himalayas along the north, a section of which on the north-west falls in this Province and which are never far from the northern border; the Central India Plateau and Vindhya hills which touch the south-west; the Vindhya Plateau and Kaimur hills (a continuation of the Vindhya and Satpura hills) which reach the south-east; and the vast alluvial plain of the Jamna-Ganges Doab (extended eastwards by the Ghagra and the Rapti) which lies between. The Province thus falls naturally into

four well-defined tracts, which from other consideration have been further sub-divided as shown below:

- (a) the montane tract (Himalaya West)
- (b) the sub-montane tract (Sub-Himalaya West and East)
- (c) the Gangetic Plain (Indo-Gangetic Plain West, Central and East)
- (d) the trans-Jumna tract (Central India Plateau and East Satpuras.⁷

The percentage of the provincial area and population by natural divisions is shown below in the table:⁸

<i>Natural Division</i>	<i>Percentage of Provincial</i>	
	<i>Area</i>	<i>Population</i>
Himalaya, West	14·0	3·4
Sub-Himalaya, West	9·2	9·0
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West	22·5	26·7
Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central	21·2	25·9
Central India Plateau	9·9	4·6
East Satpuras	4·1	1·6
Sub-Himalaya, East	12·1	17·3
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East	7·0	11·5

Population and Density

The population of the Province is 48,408,763 (British territory and States (1,206,073) forming the total population of 49,614,833.⁹ Though the Province takes the eighth position in point of area, its population is second only to that of Bengal.¹⁰ In point of mean density it has 442 persons per square mile throughout the Province, the density in the British territory being 457 and in the States 186.¹¹ The provincial density of 441 comes third with a density of $3\frac{1}{2}$ times the average of India.¹²

The comparative table of the area, population and density of the United Provinces with those of foreign countries is given below for information:¹³

Country	Area in square miles	Order in point of area	Population in millions	Order in point of population	Order in point of	
					Persons per square mile	Density
England and Wales	58,343	11	40	9	685	2
Belgium	11,400	13	8	12	702	1
France	213,000	6	41	8	192	8
Germany	182,200	8	63	5	348	6
Italy	120,000	9	43	7	358	5
Netherlands ..	12,760	12	8	12	627	3
Russia in Europe ..	1,492,000	3	108	3	61	11
Spain	196,700	7	22	10	110	9
China	4,270,000	1	449	1	97	10
Japan	260,800	5	84	4	321	7
Egypt	363,200	4	14	11	38	13
U. S. A.	3,738,000	2	137	2	36	..
United Provinces ..	112,191	10	50	6	442	14

It follows that the population of the province exceeds those of the many foreign countries. It is also interesting to learn that the population of Oudh alone is one and a quarter times that of Canada and the population of the Gorakhpur and Fyzabad Divisions each exceeds that of Australia.¹⁴ As the large towns are in the districts so the district density is high.¹⁵

(a) DISTRICTS—The six districts have a population of one and a half million or more.¹⁶ Of these five lie in the east of the Province and all save Gonda in the Agra Province.¹⁷ The twenty-two districts having a population above the average are fairly evenly distributed from

east to west.¹⁸ Of these the Province of Oudh claims seven.¹⁹ The average population in the districts is one million being slightly less in the Agra Province and a little over in Oudh.²⁰ The average area of the districts is 2,213 square miles being slightly over in the Agra Province and about 2,000 in Oudh.²¹ The United Provinces come fourth in point of average district population, though only two districts in India—(a) Vizagapatam (3,607,948); (b) Mymensingh (5,130,262)—exceeds that of Gorakhpur (3,567,561).²²

(b) NATURAL DIVISIONS:—The distribution of population between natural divisions in the order is (i) Indo-Gangetic Plain, West (12,954,527); (ii) Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central (12,531,104); (iii) Sub-Himalaya, East (8,357,936); (iv) Indo-Gangetic Plain, East (5,562,087); (v) Sub-Himalaya, West (4,345,085); (vi) Central India Plateau (2,244,895); (vii) Himalaya, West (1,624,720); (viii) East Satpuras (788,409).²³

Urban Population

The whole urban population of the Province is spread over 450 towns.²⁴ There are 262 towns with a population of 1,276,743 or 23·0 per cent of the urban population; 55 notified areas with a population of 437,436 or 7·9 per cent; 87 municipalities with a population of 3,486,173 or 62·8 per cent; 21 cantonments with a population of 200,620 or 3·6 per cent; one Railway colony with a population of 4,546.²⁵ The percentage of the urban to the total population is 11·2.²⁶ In other words, out of every thousand persons in this Province (either including or excluding the States) 112 are urban.²⁷

The distribution of urban population in the United Provinces on the basis of communities is informative.

In the British territory only 78 per mille of the Brahmanic Hindus are urban and their proportion for natural divisions varies from 30 in East Satpuras to 115 in Indo-Gangetic Plain West.²⁸ The largest proportion of Hindu town-dwellers is in Indo-Gangetic Plain West as it is the most urbanized division as a whole.²⁹ The British territory urban proportion for Muslims is 289 per mille, varying from 84 in East Satpuras to 444 in Central India Plateau.³⁰ The Muslim proportion is high in Indo-Gangetic Plain West.³¹ The proportion of the urban Muslims is nearly four times that of the urban Hindus (Brahmanic).³² The following comparative table bears out more graphically the number per mille of the total population and of urban communities by natural divisions.³³

<i>Natural Division</i>	<i>Number per mille who live in towns out of</i>				
	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>Brahmanic Hindu</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Arya</i>	<i>Christian</i>
United Provinces ..	112	77	290	197	383
British Territory ..	112	78	289	198	388
Himalaya, West ..	81	60	350	125	564
Sub-Himalaya	162	98	317	197	384
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West	163	115	371	174	245
Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central	100	70	289	361	905
Central India Plateau ..	124	100	444	660	844
East Satpuras	108	91	345	563	692
Sub-Himalaya, East ..	38	30	84	468	429
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East	95	72	301	584	572

In the municipal towns of the Province the Muslim element is shown below:³⁴

THE MUSLIM PROPORTION

(a) Over 50 per cent of total population

(1) Rampur 79.8; (2) Nagina 74.8; (3) Amroha 73.4 (4) Chandpur 70.3; (5) Sambhal 69.5; (6) Deoband 63.2; (7) Khairabad 60.8; (8) Sahaswan 59.2; (9) Tanda 59.2; (10) Saharanpur 58.9 (11) Budaun 68.2; (12) Moradabad 57.2; (13) Najibabad 56.4; (14) Bijnor 55.9; (15) Sandila 55.4; (16) Sikandra Rao 54.9; (17) Shahjahanpur 54.6; (18) Bahraich 54.1; (19) Kairana 53.9; (20) Tilbar 53.2; (21) Bareilly 52.2.

(b) Between 33 1/3 and 50 per cent of total population

(1) Meerut 49.1; (2) Fatehpur 49.0; (3) Shahabad 48.1; (4) Dhampur 48.0; (5) Nawabganj (Bara Banki) 46.9; (6) Pilibhit 46.2; (7) Khurja 45.6; (8) Rae Bareli 43.8; (9) Atrauli 43.5; (10) Bulandshahr 43.3; (11) Koil (Aligarh) 42.8; (12) Kanauj 42.7; (13) Balrampur 42.6; (14) Jalesar 42.0; (15) Kadipur 41.3; (16) Hapur 41.0; (17) Gonda 41.0; (18) Sikandrabad 40.9; (19) Lucknow 40.5; (20) Firozabad 40.3; (21) Jaunpur 39.7; (22) Muzaffarnagar 37.2; (23) Sitapur 36.9; (24) Unao 36.4; (25) Gorakhpur 36.3; (26) Roorkee 36.3; (27) Bilaspur 35.8; (28) Agra 35.1; (29) Kasganj 34.7; (30) Bela (Partabgarh) 34.2; (31) Ujhani 33.4.

In the remaining 35 municipalities the Muslim percentage is less than 33.3.³⁵

Rural Population

The United Provinces are an outstanding rural country. Out of every thousand persons 888 are rural.³⁶ There are 111,000 inhabited villages.³⁷ It is stated that one-third of the population lies in villages of less than 500 inhabitants and no less than four-fifths in villages of less than 2,000.³⁸

The table below shows the percentage of urban and rural to total population and the distribution of rural population in villages of different sizes by natural divisions:³⁹

Percentage of Total Population who Live in

Natural Division	Towns	Villages with a population of		
		Over 2,000	500 to 2,000	Under 500
United Provinces (British Territory)	11.2	8.5	46.5	33.8
Himalaya, West	8.1	6.4	11.1	74.4
Sub-Himalaya, West	16.2	8.0	45.3	30.5
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West	16.3	11.6	47.7	24.4
Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central	10.3	7.3	50.1	32.6
Central India Plateau	12.4	10.0	50.1	27.5
East Satpuras	10.8	4.1	34.3	50.8
Sub-Himalaya, East	3.8	7.7	50.8	37.7
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East	9.5	7.2	44.4	38.9

The preponderating proportion of the rural to the urban population in the whole of the Province by natural divisions can be seen in the table below:⁴⁰

Natural Division	Number per mille residing in	
	Towns	Villages
United Provinces	112	888
United Provinces (British Territory)	112	888
Himalaya, West	81	919
Sub-Himalaya, West	162	838
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West	163	837
Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central	100	900
Central India Plateau	124	876
East Satpuras	108	892
Sub-Himalaya, East	38	962
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East	95	905

It is observed that "Indo-Gangetic Plain West is the most urbanized, but even here slightly less than one-sixth of the people live in towns, nearly half live in villages with a population between 500 and 2,000 and a quarter in villages less than 500. Sub-Himalaya, West follows very closely but has a larger proportion of its population in the smaller villages. The comparatively high figures for Central India Plateau and East Satpuras are due rather to the low density of the countryside than to the number or congestion of the towns. In the latter the absence of large villages is noteworthy. Half the population live in villages under 500 and nine-tenths in villages less than 2,000. In Himalaya West this is even more remarkable; no less than three-quarters of the population residing in villages of less than 500 inhabitants. Sub-Himalaya East was developed later than the rest of the Province. It possesses no industries and is rural to a degree. Its countryside is densely populated. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the urban population of this natural division amounts to only 3.8 per cent of the total and eight-ninths of its population live in villages with less than 2,000 inhabitants. As regards the densely populated Gangetic Plain urbanization decreases from west to east."⁴¹

Occupational Distribution

In the United Provinces including the States out of the total population of 49,614,833 earners or workers are 20,708,974 and working dependents 3,441,300.⁴² In other words, the percentage of earners or workers is 42 and working dependents 7.⁴³ The remaining 25,464,559 (51 per cent) are non-working dependents.⁴⁴ The general occupational distribution is tabled thus:⁴⁵

<i>Occupation (by sub-class)</i>	<i>Number per mille of total workers</i>	<i>Number of earners and Working de- pendents</i>
All occupations	24,150,274 3,441,300	1,000 116
Exploitation of animals and vegeta- tion	18,370,739 3,114,511	762 204
Exploitation of minerals	6,637 857	Nil 148
Industry	2,670,166 155,035	111 62
Transport	201,931 1,996	8 10
Trade	1,137,691 69,984	47 66
Public force	98,478 359	4 4
Public administration	81,174 933	3 12
Professions and liberal arts	273,346 8,482	11 32
Persons living on their income ..	23,854 Nil	1 Nil
Domestic service	486,279 16,151	20 34
Insufficiently-described occupations	602,399 39,176	25 70
Unproductive	197,580 33,816	8 206

Nearly three-quarters of the earners and working dependents (736 per mille) are dependent in the main or entirely upon ordinary cultivation (including rents from agricultural lands) for their livelihood.⁴⁶ As regards the natural divisions of the Province, the preponderance of agricultural and pastoral occupations is especially marked in Sub-Himalaya East and Himalaya West.⁴⁷ In Sub-Himalaya West and Indo-Gangetic Plain West, industry and trade engage a larger proportion of the people.⁴⁸ Passing across the Gangetic Plain from west to east the agricultural proportion goes up.⁴⁹ In Sub-Himalaya East the figures for professions are strikingly low.⁵⁰ The table given below illustrates the above statement:⁵¹

*All Workers and Dependents per Mille of Total Population
by Sub-Classes of Occupation by Districts and Natural Divisions*

<i>Natural Division</i>	<i>Exploitation of animals and vegetation</i>	<i>Industry</i>	<i>Trade</i>	<i>Professions</i>	<i>Other occupations</i>
United Provinces (British Territory) ..	757	111	47	21	64
Himalaya, West ..	879	40	19	21	41
Sub-Himalaya, West	667	166	53	23	91
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West	663	168	62	25	82
Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central	771	104	41	20	64
Central Indian Plateau	738	122	53	26	61
East Satpuras ..	757	93	57	19	74
Sub-Himalaya, East ..	884	48	28	7	33
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East	731	117	68	18	66

Agriculture

In the United Provinces, agriculture as an occupational pursuit of the people holds an unrivalled position. The vast majority of the population is either directly or indirectly dependent upon it for their sustenance.⁵² 71·1 per cent of earners are engaged in agriculture for their principal means of livelihood and a further addition of 8·2 per cent earners get their sustenance from agriculture as a subsidiary occupation.⁵³ The income of large population of the remainder is dependent upon the agricultural occupation in the supply of commodities or the services rendered to agriculturists.⁵⁴ It is so aptly stated that "agricultural conditions are, therefore, of prime importance" for the United Provinces.⁵⁵ The Census Report also throws ample light on the actual condition of the agricultural community as a whole. When it is remembered that the main support of the Province is agriculture and its allied pursuits, it is shocking to learn that the very source of income of the Province is drying up and its agricultural strength and vitality is dying out because the agricultural problem has not been tackled from the agriculture as well as the agriculturists' point of view. The standards applied are too non-agricultural in their bearing and importance. The treatment of agricultural problems of the United Provinces has to be drastic in order to save it from a total collapse and exhaustion. The economic condition of the agriculturists of all classes and descriptions reveals the fact that in the United Provinces (British territory) 27,545 (54 per cent) are indebted and 23,350 (46 per cent) are debt-free.⁵⁶ The indebted condition of tenants between less than one year's rent to over two

years' rent varies from 12 to 32 per cent.⁵⁷ The "un-encumbered" cultivators are 58 per cent and the "encumbered" cultivators 42 per cent.⁵⁸ The number of encumbered cultivators exceeds the number of the un-encumbered only in the three divisions—Sub-Himalaya West, Indo-Gangetic Plain West and Central India Plateau.⁵⁹ It is also stated that in every natural division the larger the holding is the larger the actual debt; but everywhere the burden of debt is heavier on the small holder, i.e., it is heavier in proportion to his assets or ability to pay.⁶⁰ In five natural divisions the "unencumbered" cultivators are 60, 62, 64, 65, 69 per cent and in some divisions the "encumbered" cultivators are 52, 56, 57 per cent.⁶¹ The big landlords or Zamindars in the United Provinces (British territory) are 44 per cent debt-free and 56 per cent indebted. In all the natural divisions the indebted condition of the Zamindars ranges from 41 to 84 per cent.⁶² The percentage of debt of the peasant, the proprietor and the tenant, falling under three heads—(i) productive, which includes purchase of seed for stock, labourers' wages, building and repairs of wells, farm buildings etc; purchase or mortgaging of land etc; (ii) unavoidable, which includes borrowing for subsistence and payment of revenue or rent; (iii) unproductive, which includes borrowings for social or religious functions, *litigation and repayment of old debts*, is 30, 34 and 36 respectively in the United Provinces (British territory).⁶³

In Indo-Gangetic Plain West, Central India Plateau and Sub-Himalaya West the debt varies from 38 to 41 per cent under productive head, in Sub-Himalaya East, East Satpuras, Indo-Gangetic Plain East and Himalaya West from 40 to 62 per cent under unavoidable head.⁶⁴

It is also interesting to learn how the debt by caste groups is distributed for both landlords and tenants. The following statement shows their percentages:⁶⁵

(i) *High Castes*—Brahman, Rajput, Musalman Rajput, Sayyid, Shiekh and Pathan are 45 per cent debt-free and 55 per cent indebted.

(ii) *Good Agricultural Castes*—Ahar, Ahir, Kisan, Kurmi and Lodh are 43 per cent debt-free and 57 per cent indebted;

(iii) *Market Gardening Castes*—Baghban, Kachhi, Koiri, Mali, Murao and Saini are 40 per cent debt-free and 60 per cent indebted.

(iv) *Low Agricultural Castes*—Bhar, Chamar and Pasi are 44 per cent debt-free and 56 per cent indebted.

(v) *Non-agricultural Castes*—Kalwar, Kayastha, Khattri and Vaishya are 63 per cent debt-free and 37 per cent indebted.

(vi) *Other Castes*—These are 50 per cent debt-free and 50 per cent indebted.

Of the total population 57 per cent derive their principal income from actual cultivation of holdings.⁶⁶ 5,781,000 families are dependent on them for their livelihood.⁶⁷ Of these a considerable number (289,000 families or 5 per cent of the whole) are mere allotment holders—village artisans and menials, agricultural and general labourers and petty tradesmen who cultivate a field or two in the spare time.⁶⁸

The strength of the agricultural community as a whole in the Province is tabled thus:⁶⁹

<i>Agricultural Group</i>	<i>Actual number of earners and working dependents</i>	<i>Number per mille of total agriculturists</i>
Landlords, non-cultivating	260,610	15
Tenants, non-cultivating	193,877	11
Estates-agents and managers of } private owners and of govern- } ment, rent collectors, clerks etc. }	52,463	3
Landlords, cultivating	1,795,536	101
Tenants, cultivating	12,011,621	676
Agricultural labourers	3,419,185	192
Cultivators of special crops, mar- } ket, gardening, etc. }	32,139	2

Of all agriculturists, nearly 12 per cent are landlords cultivating as well as non-cultivating.⁷⁰ Tenants are 69 per cent and agricultural labourers only 19 per cent of the total agricultural population.⁷¹ The lot of the agricultural labourers is pitiable because this section of the agricultural class suffers most, when agricultural disasters happen in the Province.⁷² Having nothing for the 'rainy day' and no 'reserves' to fall back upon, they are eventually the first who are thrown out of employment.⁷³

Industry

Industry occupies a second important place in the occupational pursuits of the people of the Province, though it has only 111 workers or earners out of every 1,000.⁷⁴ On an all-industry basis the estimate of 2,670,166 workers or earners was recorded.⁷⁵ The strength of different branches of industry is tabled thus:⁷⁶

<i>Industry (by order)</i>	<i>Actual number of earners or working dependents</i>	<i>Number per mille of earners and working dependents employed on industry engaged in various industries</i>
All Industries	2,670,166	1,000
Textiles	499,559	187
Hides, skin and hard materials from animal kingdom	94,156	35
Wood	182,933	69
Metals	111,207	42
Ceramics	204,837	77
Chemical products	233,736	88
Food	338,111	126
Dress and toilet	641,518	239
Furniture	1,919	1
Building	42,031	16
Construction of means of transport	1,138	..
Production and transmission of physical force	1,338	1
Miscellaneous	317,682	119

The existence of different orders of industry depends on a direct and close connection and interlinkage with agriculture. More so the pace of their progress is ultimately conditioned by the pace of agriculture. It is exhilarated or thwarted according to agricultural conditions. The need for a new alignment of industrial reorganization and planning to agricultural features and peculiarities, necessities and requirements, rights and privileges is a desideratum in the future upbuilding of the United Provinces. Be it mentioned here that "the industrial labourer is still a villager at heart as a result of his traditions and upbringing."⁷⁷

Transport

Its occupational sub-class engages in all 201,931 workers.⁷⁸

Trade

1,137,691 earners and working dependents earn their livelihood by trade.⁷⁹ Nearly 75 per cent of workers in trade are engaged in the supply of foodstuffs.⁸⁰ This clearly shows that the major activity of trade also is connected with agriculture. The percentage of earners and working dependents in banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance, brokerage, commission and export is 3·6.⁸¹ Textiles have 5·2 per cent of earners and working dependents in trade.⁸² Trade in skins, leather, furs, wood (not firewood), metals, pottery, bricks, tiles and chemical products is carried on by nearly 2 per cent of earners and working dependents.⁸³ 1·2 per cent of earners are engaged in trade of clothing and toilet articles.⁸⁴ Trade in furniture, building materials, means of transport, fuel, articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters, arts and sciences contribute 8·6 per cent of earners and working dependents.⁸⁵ Trade of other sorts gives livelihood to 3·8 per cent of workers.⁸⁶

Professions and Liberal Arts

The total number of earners and working dependents in all professions in the Province is 273,346.⁸⁷ The high percentage of 48·2 is recorded in religion.⁸⁸ In law it is 8·2; in medicine 11·3; in instruction 19·1; in letters, arts and sciences (other than those who fall under public administration) 13·2.⁸⁹ In public administration and liberal arts the number of earners and working

dependents per mille of total population is 91.⁹⁰ In cities and elsewhere their proportion per mille is 225 and 745 respectively.⁹¹ Their total number is 452,998.⁹²

Occupation in Urban Areas

The distribution of occupations in urban communities differs radically from the rural distribution. In cities industry and trade take the place of agricultural and pastoral pursuits. The prominent urban occupations are transport, public force, public administration, professions and liberal arts. There are more numerous persons who live on their private income in cities. Even the large proportion of domestic servants is found in urban areas. The number of workers who are engaged in the insufficiently-described occupations is high in cities. This includes general labourers and unspecified businessmen, clerks, etc: who are eventually found in large numbers in urban areas. The table below illustrates the point at issue:⁹³

<i>Occupation (by sub-class)</i>	<i>Number per mille of total earners and working de- pendents</i>
All occupations	1,000
Exploitation of animals and vegetation	141
Exploitation of minerals	1
Industry	270
Transport	66
Trade	173
Public force	42
Public administration	23
Professions and liberal arts	56
Persons living on their income	9
Domestic service	104
Insufficiently-described occupations	91
Unproductive	24

Occupation by Religion

Muslims as compared with Hindus are town-dwellers in a larger proportion and follow urban pursuits to a greater extent than do Hindus.⁹⁴

Subsidiary Occupations

In the United Provinces most people are occupied with more than one occupation and many have distinct occupations.⁹⁵ The Census Report discloses the fact that "in this Province there is only one really important combination of occupations and that is agriculture (in some form or other) with any non-agricultural occupation. This combination may be divided into two: those for whom agriculture provides the principal source of income and those for whom it provides a subsidiary income to that derived from a non-agricultural occupation. Economically, the former class is far more important."⁹⁶ Out of every 10,000 total population of the Province as a whole (including the States) there are 4,174 earners; but 595 (or 14 per cent) belong to subsidiary occupation.⁹⁷ Three-fifths of these i.e., 364 working dependents are engaged in agricultural or pastoral occupation as subsidiary; 104 working dependents in industries; 50 working dependents in trade; 31 working dependents in general labour.⁹⁸ It may be mentioned here that in the whole Province there are 14,673,570 persons engaged in pure agriculture as principal occupation and of these 12,514,584 have subsidiary occupation at all.⁹⁹ Their percentage is 85.¹⁰⁰

Religion

The people of the United Provinces belong to different religions. Each main religion has many

sects which have evolved and retained their distinct creeds. It thus loses its inner strength and cohesive power as a main religion and shades off into creeds and creeds, faiths and faiths. Though its centripetal force is being ruthlessly exploited as a powerful instrument of faith and a living and virile culture by communalistic parties in the field of politics for their end in view, the centrifugal forces of sects in the world of their main religion are moulding and determining the socio-religious life of their followers with full force and vigour. The result is that sects of each main religion hold sway over the mind and the soul of their adherents and the sustaining force of their outlook on man and the world deepens to such an extent that a casual observer fails to appreciate or understand its intrinsic worth, but to their own adherents it becomes a gospel truth, an article of faith and an unchallenged conviction. The tendency to change the centrifugal forces of each main religion into a centripetal dynamics of social and religious order seems to be a chase after the moon. Reasons for the failure in the re-establishment or resuscitation of an all-religion without any traces or groupings of sectional denominations are to be found in the history of its own laws of evolution, which the zealous reformers in the world of religion fail to understand. They only over-estimate the oneness of their religion and its laws without realizing for a moment that each religion has vicissitudes in its own history as well as its own sociological problems.

More so the factors of struggle and strife and clash due to political forces and considerations had changed the real face of each religion into a multi-faced one with the result that its multi-facedness engenders hostile sects, which, to the millions of their followers or adherents,

seem to be the 'original' form of religion but changed for all intents and purposes. Though ideal religionists resent the existence of diverse creeds and faiths in their own religions, it is their sociological man, conditioned by political, social, economic and 'charismatic' factors that ultimately triumphs over the idealists. He lives in sectional religion and believes in its legitimate existence and owns it as devoutly as the 'original' religion out of which various sects sprouted up. He also defies the expectations of those who are after the revival or resuscitation of the 'original' religion and only continues to 'reform' his own section in the light of revivalism. His sect gives him peace of mind as well as of soul.

In this way all religious sects take the form of group organizations and these, in turn, begin to play either primary or secondary role in matters of politics and government when the country witnesses a struggle for political rights and privileges. It also happens, as is happening in India, that all sectional religious denominations of each main religion try to put up a show on a common political platform against the conjointed combination of other sectional religious groups. Though the points of contact and affinity among themselves are weak and ephemeral, political parties stake their all for achieving such a combination of strength and power against their common foe. This is politics, but the foundation of such a politics is laid upon sandy material. It gives way the moment the common foe is no more and results in actual strife, clash and antagonism among the heterogeneous and hostile sects of the main religion. The body politic thus built up will crash like a house of cards.

In the United Provinces the people of all main religions are dragging religion into the quagmire of politics for unifying and strengthening their power as communities.¹⁰¹ Hindus are 84.50 per cent and Muslims are 14.84 per cent and Others only 0.66 per cent of the total population.¹⁰² The distribution of each religion by natural divisions is thus tabled:¹⁰³

<i>Natural Division</i>	<i>Percentage of each religion of total population</i>		
	<i>Hindu</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Others</i>
United Provinces (British Territory)	84.50	14.84	0.7
Himalaya, West	93.50	5.70	0.8
Sub-Himalaya, West	71.70	27.50	0.8
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West ..	80.60	17.70	1.7
Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central ..	86.90	12.90	0.2
Central India Plateau	93.10	6.10	0.8
East Satpuras	94.00	5.90	0.1
Sub-Himalaya, East	84.80	15.10	0.1
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East ..	90.00	9.90	0.1

In all natural divisions Hindus predominate; Muslims form a small section of the population and other religions show an infinitesimal proportion.

It is informative to learn how the urban and rural population by each religion is distributed in natural divisions.¹⁰⁴

Number per 10,000 of Urban Population

<i>Natural Division</i>	<i>Hindu Brah- manic</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Hindu Arya</i>	<i>Chris- tian</i>	<i>Others</i>
United Provinces (British Territory)	5,837	3,823	115	147	78
Himalaya, West	6,787	2,471	223	404	115
Sub-Himalaya, West	4,244	5,365	176	123	92
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West	5,558	4,021	147	154	120
Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central	6,022	3,695	59	192	32
Central India Plateau	7,465	2,188	50	159	138
East Satpuras	7,949	1,903	81	58	9
Sub-Himalaya, East	6,583	3,293	65	49	1
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East	6,741	3,114	86	46	13

Number Per 10,000 of Rural Population

United Provinces (British Territory)	8,706	1,188	59	29	18
Himalaya, West	9,416	407	139	27	11
Sub-Himalaya, West	7,567	2,241	139	38	15
Indo-Gangetic Plain, West	8,375	1,327	150	92	56
Indo-Gangetic Plain, Central	8,969	1,016	12	2	1
Central India Plateau	9,562	389	4	4	41
East Satpuras	9,553	436	8	3	..
Sub-Himalaya, East	8,552	1,441	3	3	1
Indo-Gangetic Plain, East	9,228	761	6	4	1

The actual number of different adherents of all religions in the Province is as follows:¹⁰⁵

<i>Religion</i>	<i>Actual Number</i>	<i>Number per 10,000 of total population</i>
Hindu	40,905,586	8,450
(a) Brahmanic	40,585,338	8,384
(b) Arya	316,679	65
(c) Radhaswami	3,382	1
(d) Brahmo	143	..
(e) Dev	44	..
Jain	67,954	14
Sikh	46,500	10
Buddhist	730	..
Muslim	7,181,927	1,484
Christian	205,006	42
Zoroastrian	991	..
Jew	66	..
Indefinite beliefs	3	..

Hindus

The Brahmanic Hindus vastly outnumber those of all other religions taken together in every district.¹⁰⁶ Except in the neighbouring districts of Moradabad (478,847 Muslims to 745,669 Hindus) and Bijnor (314,056 Muslims to 486,883 Hindus) in all other districts the Brahmanic Hindus overwhelm others.¹⁰⁷ The Brahmanic Hindus are not Brahmans but they conform to the Brahmanic socio-religious order. The total strength of the Brahmans as a community is 4,525,893.¹⁰⁸ The depressed classes are included in the Brahmanic Hindu society. Their number is 12,819,949.¹⁰⁹ Others among the Brahmanic Hindus are 24,189,139.¹¹⁰ As

compared with 4,525,893 Brahmans the number of the depressed classes and others put together is 37,009,088. The Brahmans form one-ninth, the depressed classes somewhat less than one-third and other castes about five-ninths of the total Brahmanic Hindu community.¹¹¹ The depressed classes are divided into two main groups: (a) untouchable and depressed; (b) touchable and depressed. The figures of the "untouchable and depressed" group amount to 11,203,848 and the "touchable and depressed" group to 1,387,677 in the Province (British territory).¹¹² To these may be added a figure of 57,196 as depressed class belonging to the Arya or the Radhaswami or some such sect.¹¹³ In other words, the depressed classes in the British territory of the United Provinces come to a proportion of more than a quarter of the total population or 31 per cent of the Hindu population.¹¹⁴

The depressed classes are a picture of human degradation. They themselves are not so degraded and 'depressed' a humanity as they are made low in the scale of social values by the Brahmanic Hindus. They are the outcastes who have no rights and privileges of the Brahmanic Hindu society and are debarred from the amenities of life. Their human traits are marked as unhuman. Though attempts are made to awaken a social consciousness in Hindus in regard to their callous and morbid attitude towards the depressed classes, the Hindu soul has not been stirred to that length when the community rises to a man and welcomes the depressed classes within its fold as its own members. The social laws of caste have blunted the humane feelings of Hindus and made them indifferent to social injustice and oppression. Their condition is like lotus-eaters, happy and peaceful

in their caste folds. They think that the problems of the community are beyond the pale of caste order. Caste rules at the expense of community. Though in recent times the 'Hindu' community is rising like a ghost, the immanent spirit of caste lives undeterred and undismayed.

The social facts of the Brahmanic Hindu community betray its own inherent weakness as a community. It is not a solid block of homogeneous society of people, but split up into myriads of castes and sub-castes with all conceivable variations, colourings, shades, expressions and forms. The Brahmanic Hindu community has all sorts of social patterns and behaviourisms. It is the incongruous in the so-called congruous social setting that is its peculiar feature. Disharmony, disunity and segregationalism reign supreme in the society of the "Brahmanic" Hindus at the expense of unity, integration and harmony. Factors of social cohesion, alignment, fusion and solidarity are conspicuous by their absence. There are also Hindu movements and organizations in the Province.¹¹⁵ The aim of some organisations is to raise the status of 'fallen' castes into higher castes; others tackle the problems of their caste-communities. There are those who proselytize.¹¹⁶ The larger movement of Hinduism is after creating a Hindu national consciousness and awakening. These have not been successful in affecting solidarity in the Hindu society but are, to a great extent, responsible for creating a tendentious sense and appreciation of historical evolution. The way of looking at the historical evolution of India is hinduized. The Hindu leadership, through Hindu movements, is defying the laws of history and sociology in their relationship to the actual life of the country

at large. The historic India is judged not as a synthesized composition of all-life forces, but a finished process of hinduized evolution.

The Hindu idealists are harping on social, religious, philosophical and political themes that never became the common heritage of the 'common' Hindu. To them 'Hindu' India of the past reached its meridian of development, splendour and glory in all domains of human thought and activity. They ardently desire to revive 'Hinduism' in order to create the New out of the Old. It is an incontrovertible fact that the real glory of India was the only glory not of the 'Hindu' India, but it was one of her aspects which in its historical evolution continued to reinforce the life of India with powerful socio-cultural adhesives after the 'Hindu' India lay buried deep in the ages. It is not the past glory of India that can be brought to life again; but the synthetical spirit of India, working through all ages and leaving behind its hall-mark on all historical periods, can be revived. It is this feature of India that is all potential in the shaping of things—social, political, economic, religious, institutional, legalistic, artistic, and linguistic. This also has synthesized all different cultural patterns or factors into an Indian uniqueness. Thus the real India was not a 'Hindu' India alone as visualized by Hindu religionists, thinkers and reformers but an India that was culturalized and civilized by the Dravidian, the Aryan, the Buddhist, the Jain, the Brahmanic and the non-Brahmanic factors and principles.

It is a travesty of reality that the blind-eyed Hindu-thinking class has discounted the value of these vital sociological factors. Through the process of social integration, absorption and interaction even the non-and-

un-Hindu facts of life became the marrow and bone of the Hindu social fabric. These are being eliminated and ruthlessly destroyed by Hindu reformers of today. Its result has been that Hindus have developed an aversion of mind towards assimilative factors of culture and civilization other than 'Hindu' in origin or form. The transformed life of the Hindus of today has narrowed their vision to such an extent that they fail to appreciate the intrinsic value of modern civilization as well as of the various un-Hindu cultural patterns and contributions that have enriched the civilization of India. Such inhibitory phase of emotional and mental Hindu life works in a sub-conscious way to preclude the possibility of a communal harmony and peace. The lack of tolerance as a standpoint in communal matters is the result of misguided and ill-balanced principles of life aggravated by inhibitory impulses in the arena of politics. It further leads to the non-recognition of racial units, cultural patterns, linguistic groups, religious entities on the part of Hindus. They are made to believe in Hindu principles applicable to all for the guidance of all other sects and groups of people inhabiting India, while within the Brahmanic Hindu fold the multi-caste groups and groups of people, who live their own 'indigenous' life according to their laws of social control and behaviour are not wiped out of existence. Caste, with all its taboos, outlaws, social privileges and recognitions, differentiation of human standards, legitimacy of rights and non-rights, gradation of delegated duties according to the birth of man, is the moving spirit of the Brahmanic Hindu society. In politics the shadow of the Brahmanic 'Hinduism' is spreading and diffusing; but in the Hindu community there is no commotion, no fermentation,

no agitation, no revolt on a large or nationwide scale to destroy, root and branch, the society of castes, sub-castes, divisions of sub-castes with a view to affecting a radical change in the form of a new Hindu social order based on democratic ways of thinking and living, irrespective of caste determinism, and recognition of all-justice in matters of social, political, religious and economic life of the people. The Brahmanic Hindu is far behind the change of times. India as a problem of social, religious, political and economic significance awaits solution. The 'Hindu' nationalism is a hoarse and shrill cry in the wilderness. The problem of the United Provinces requires the resetting of a correct perspective in order to view it from a healthy and life-promoting national angle of vision.

Aryas

The Aryas are mainly found in the three western revenue divisions of Meerut, Agra and Rohilkhand, more especially in the districts of Meerut, Muzaffarnagar, Bijnor and Bulandshahr; each contributes over 20,000.¹¹⁷

Jains

In the western revenue divisions of Meerut, Agra and Jhansi, Jains are chiefly found especially in the districts of Meerut, Jhansi, Agra and Muzaffarnagar; each has over 8,000.¹¹⁸

Sikhs

Nearly one-half of the Sikh population is in the Moradabad District; the other half is found in the revenue division of Meerut; the rest of the distribution of Sikhs is largely due to the accidents of military postings.¹¹⁹

Buddhists

Kumaun is the chief centre of the Buddhists.¹²⁰

Muslims

The distribution of Muslims by locality is conditioned by historical as well as economic causes.¹²¹ Politics of the past had determined the distribution of Muslims over areas, especially in the Meerut and Rohilkhand revenue divisions and Aligarh in Agra, Farrukhabad, Jaunpur and Oudh as these were the centres of 'Muslim' States or Provinces.¹²² Muslims are to a considerable extent town-dwellers and engaged by habit and occupation in urban pursuits.¹²³ The Muslim population of the United Provinces is the admixture of different creeds of the Islamic faith. There is diversity throughout the Province in the religious and social practices of Muslims due to the existence of various sects within the fold of Islam.¹²⁴ Muslims of the United Provinces also are caste-ridden.¹²⁵ A very large section of Muslims are descendants of 'Hindus' or the indigenous population.¹²⁶ The indigenous religion (Brahmanic) has potentially and virtually affected Muslim customs, traditions and sentiments.¹²⁷ Muslims of the United Provinces have, in large measure, 'Hindu' customs.¹²⁸ Among the 'Muslim' population there are numerous endogamous occupational castes.¹²⁹ These castes account for 81 per cent of all Muslims in the Province.¹³⁰ Besides these, there are the so-called 'foreign' ethnic tribes of Sayyids, Mughals, Pathans and Sheikhs,¹³¹ who have retained their tribal characteristics, though modified by their close, and day to day contact with the indigenous population of the Province.

There are a number of movements and organizations of the powerful Muslim sects in the Province. Their aims are divergent. They are after the solidarity not of Islam, but the Islam as understood and lived by the adherents of Muslim sects. Though much is being heard and read about the consolidation of Muslims as a united community, the actual life of Muslims is primarily under the domination of set principles of the specific Muslim sects. There are no signs of breaking away from the sectional touch-me-notism and group individualism as opposed to the democracy of Islam on the part of Muslims of the Province. The Muslim sectionalism remains intact and wards off slashes and criticism by strengthening its own position on the basis of Islamic history and knowledge, though the puritanic movement of Islam works to counteract the forces generated by the existence of live-personalities of Muslim sects or groups. How far the neo-Islamic ideal and order is going to materialize itself depends not only on betrayal of the unsoundness of the socio-religious existence of the Muslim sects but has much to do with the general change of the whole social order of which Muslims are an integral part. The struggle between the forces of idealism in Islam and the social facts of Muslim life is being witnessed by the United Provinces on a very meagre scale.

The Muslim society as such is a society of composite elements. The social, religious, ethical and cultural world of the United Province has left its indelible mark on the traditions, customs, manners, ways, habits and *Weltanschauung* of the Muslims. The U. P. Muslim is not a cent per cent Muslim of the Koranic order but a human being born and bred up in a social *milieu* of the Province whose socio-ethnic, aesthetic, linguistic, philo-

sophic, spiritual and cultural heritage he carries about him and is its true specimen. In his physical, mental and emotional make-up there are living traces of provincial indigenoussness, cultural integration, naturalness of sociability and adaptation of ideas and forms that differentiate him from his brothers-in-faith of other Muslim countries. A Muslim of the United Provinces is a typical U. P. man.

Christians

In the whole Province there are 207,896 Christians or they are 4 per mille of the total population.¹³² Of these, Indian Christians are 173,077 i.e., 4 Indian Christians to every other Christian; Anglo-Indians 11,272; Christians of European race 23,500.¹³³ Europeans and Anglo-Indians are found chiefly in cities and the big towns where their number is 18,227 or (78 per cent) and 8,701 or (77 per cent) respectively.¹³⁴ There are many Christian sects—(i) Roman Catholic; (ii) Romo-Syrian; (iii) Other Syrians; (iv) Others. The Christian sects are guided by sectional spirit that weakens the solidarity of Christians as a community. To check its disintegration and to strengthen a new all-Christian movement, the United Church of Northern India has been started to unite the various Christian sects into one solid block.¹³⁵

Literacy

In the United Provinces there are only about three-fifths as literate as India as a whole, but compared with the other larger Provinces the provincial literate assumes a very low position.¹³⁶ The actual number of literates in British territory is 2,259,638 or the number of literates per mille of total population comes to 47.¹³⁷ The pre-

valence of literacy varies in all natural divisions of the Province. Himalaya West easily leads other natural divisions in both male and female literacy (170 and 16 per mille respectively); Indo-Gangetic Plain Central follows next in point of male literacy (127); Central India Plateau is close to it by (125); East Satpuras (116) outrance Indo-Gangetic Plain West (97) and Central (88); Sub-Himalaya West (71) and East (63) come last.¹³⁸ In the 23 cities of the United Provinces the number of literates per mille aged 5 years and over is 204.¹³⁹ The tables below show literacy by religion.¹⁴⁰

I—RELIGION

	<i>Number Per Mille Aged 5 Years and Over Who are Literate</i>		
	<i>Persons</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
All religions	55	94	11
Hindu Brahmanic	51	89	8
Arya	500	293	84
Jain	380	590	128
Sikh	118	176	37
Muslim	59	97	16
Christian	289	327	241

II—RELIGION

	<i>Number Per Mille Aged 15-20 Years Who are Literate</i>		
All Religions	72	120	18
Hindu Brahmanic	67	114	13
Arya	255	365	118
Jain	439	675	174
Sikh	154	222	49
Muslim	77	124	26
Indian Christian	237	244	229
Other Christian	776	815	627

In the life of the Province castes determine the general features of the society; but in the spheres of politics, economics, education and administration the higher proportion of literacy by specific castes carries weight of influence and preference. Among the ninety-five castes, which represent the various strata of society all over the Province, Kayasthas alone top the list of literacy in the advanced group (where the percentage of male literacy is 50 and over).¹⁴¹ Their level of literacy is far higher than that of any other caste in the Province.¹⁴² The intermediate group of literacy (where the percentage is 10 but less than 50) is led by Vaishyas.¹⁴³ Close upon Vaishyas come Sayyids with a few decimal points less in the percentage of male literacy.¹⁴⁴ Bhuinhars follow next with 31 per cent of male literacy.¹⁴⁵ After them Mughals, Sonars, Kalwars, Rajputs, Sheikhs and Pathans follow suit in sequential order of percentage.¹⁴⁶ All the higher Hindu and Muslim castes find a place in the intermediate group of literacy.¹⁴⁷ The figures of the backward group of literacy are most disappointing and alarming, which includes the formidable bulk of the lower strata of society of the Province.¹⁴⁸

As regards literacy in English out of every 10,000 males aged 5 years and over in the British territory of the Province 110 (roughly one in a hundred) are literate.¹⁴⁹ It is only half that of India as a whole.¹⁵⁰ Literacy in English by natural divisions per 10,000 literates varies from 187 to 40 in males and from 36 to 3 in females.¹⁵¹ The literacy proportion is higher where the urban population is greater and the proportion of both Hindu and Muslim literates in English is far greater in cities than in the rest of the Province.¹⁵² The Hindu

proportion exceeds the Muslim in the cities.¹⁵³ But as regards natural divisions, the Muslim proportion invariably exceeds the Hindu proportion though the degree varies considerably.¹⁵⁴ In the Province as a whole the Muslim proportion exceeds the Hindu by more than 50 per cent.¹⁵⁵

Language

The United Provinces have no linguistic problems.¹⁵⁶ According to the Linguistic Survey four languages—(a) Western Hindi; (b) Eastern Hindi; (c) Bihari and (d) Central Pahari—are approximately distributed. These merge into one another and are not separated by hard and fast boundary lines.¹⁵⁷ Western Hindi has 21,078,746 speakers; Eastern Hindi 16,034,344; Bihari 10,766,300; Central Pahari 1,576,937.¹⁵⁸ The total number of speakers of all these languages is 49,456,327.

The popular notion is that the Province has only two languages—Urdu and Hindi, classified as Hindustani. Urdu and Hindi are not the exclusive languages of Muslims and Hindus respectively; but they are spoken by both the sections of the population. In the rural areas or regions of the Province Muslims and Hindus speak Hindi as their mothertongue. The Hindu-Muslim urban population speaks Urdu as its mothertongue. On the basis of literature and history it can safely be asserted that Urdu was born in an urban vicinity and Hindi in the cradle of rural life. Urdu is urban, while Hindi is rural. Urdu is the natural product of the commingling of Hindu and Muslim cultural elements in urban regions. Hindi, as the basic language of the Province, has always worked as a powerful instrument of speech and thought, prose and poetry, songs and ballads for the manifesta-

tions of rural life. It is virile, earthy, full of rurality. In other words, Hindi is the life-expression of the rural Province—simple, nature-like, unsophisticated, realistic and community-inspired. Urdu is inspirited with the city genius. It has thriven on associational, formative and eclectic principles and developed decorative-mosaic forms that characterize its urbane spirit and temper. Urdu is suave; it has chiselled forms and polished expressions and possesses the elegance of city-culture. In the development of the Urdu literature it is the positive contribution of a marked individualism as the philosophy of life that is its chief feature, while in the Hindi literature it is the fund of national material in the form of folk-lore and traditions that forms its firm foundation. This brings out the urbanized and ruralized characteristics of the Urdu and Hindi languages respectively. Hindi thus is the living spirit of the traditional past embedded in rural life, while Urdu is the changing form of the cultured of the cities.

The linguistic evolution of Urdu and Hindi was conditioned by their environmental forces, but the sameness of linguistic characteristics is their peculiar feature. Urdu and Hindi were and are the two different linguistic aspects of the Provincial life supplementing each other till the end of the 19th century. As a language they were and are one and the same with different urban and rural forms of speech. Hindi of the pre-communal period has Muslims as well as Hindus in its galaxy of writers and poets. The Urdu literature is the outcome of joint and inseparable efforts and labours of many a poet and *litterateur*, Hindu and Muslim. The Hindu contribution to Urdu is as sustaining as the Muslim. Hence Urdu is an unrivalled common heritage of the

urban provincial life of Hindus and Muslims. Even sometimes the Hindi script was utilized for Urdu and the Urdu script for Hindi.

Since the beginning of the 20th century new tendencies worked up by communalistic thinking, Hindu and Muslim, have been after the separation of these two 'languages' into distinct linguistic groups by artificial pampering, feeding and stuffing. To-day, it is vain-gloriously broadcast from pulpit, platform and the press that Hindi is the national language of Hindus and Urdu of Muslims. These communal movements, Hindu and Muslim, are doing immense disservice to the cause of Urdu-Hindi language by disowning the legitimate common linguistic heritage in the making of which both Hindus and Muslims positively contributed. The natural genius, temper and vitality of Hindi or Urdu is being destroyed by communal virus with the result that it has upset its growth and led to its devitalization. Forces generated by ill-conceived politics of the India today have made the Urdu-Hindi problem worse. The Hindu and Muslim communal-mindedness is at the root of the Urdu-Hindi language problem. The process of natural development of Urdu or Hindi on its own laws of growth (i.e., laws of interaction and interpermeation) has been hindered. It has to be borne in mind that neither Urdu nor Hindi has ever been the sole monopoly of exclusive groups or religio-ethnic units of people. These were and are the joint and indivisible property of the people of the Province. The process of muslimization of the Urdu language or the hinduization of the Hindi language is a bottomless effort that will ultimately bring the ludicrous to the surface. The vital laws of the Hindi or Urdu language can never be hinduized or muslimized.

That the language may not suffer irremediably by artificial communal scaffolding is the duty of saner elements of the population to save and free it from the upas of communalism. To re-establish a natural contact between Urdu and Hindi, it is but essential to lay a Hindi amalgam to the base of Urdu and a Urdu adhesive to the foundation of Hindi.

Of the population of the Province including the States no less than 997 per mille speak Hindustani embracing both Hindi and Urdu as their mother-tongue.¹⁵⁹

There are many other languages spoken in the Province, but they do not belong to it and their range of influence only is confined to the immigrants who speak them.¹⁶⁰ These are of utter insignificance as compared with Hindustani, which has also been adopted by the speakers of these non-provincial languages.

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- ¹ Census of India, 1931, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Vol. XVIII, Part I—Report, Allahabad, 1933, p. 1. ² *ibid.* p. 1. ³ *ibid.* p. 1. ⁴ *ibid.* pp. 1, 2. ⁵ *ibid.* p. 2. ⁶ *ibid.* p. 2. ⁷ *ibid.* p. 2. (See for the peculiarities of these tracts pp. 2, 4). ⁸ *ibid.* p. 2. ⁹ *ibid.* p. 7. ¹⁰ *ibid.* p. 7. ¹¹ *ibid.* p. 6. ¹² *ibid.* p. 7. ¹³ *ibid.* p. 7. ¹⁴ *ibid.* p. 8. ¹⁵ *ibid.* p. 9. ¹⁶ *ibid.* p. 12. ¹⁷ *ibid.* p. 12. ¹⁸ *ibid.* p. 12. ¹⁹ *ibid.* p. 12. ²⁰ *ibid.* p. 12. ²¹ *ibid.* p. 14. ²² *ibid.* pp. 14, 15. ²³ *ibid.* p. 20. ²⁴ *ibid.* p. 124. ²⁵ *ibid.* p. 124. ²⁶ *ibid.* p. 130. ²⁷ *ibid.* p. 125. ²⁸ *ibid.* p. 137. ²⁹ *ibid.* p. 137. ³⁰ *ibid.* p. 137. ³¹ *ibid.* p. 137. ³² *ibid.* p. 137. ³³ *ibid.* p. 154. ³⁴ *ibid.* p. 138. ³⁵ *ibid.* p. 138. ³⁶ *ibid.* p. 125. ³⁷ *ibid.* p. 122. ³⁸ *ibid.* p. 129. ³⁹ *ibid.* p. 129. ⁴⁰ *ibid.* p. 153. ⁴¹ *ibid.* pp. 129, 130. ⁴² *ibid.* p. 380. ⁴³ *ibid.* p. 380. ⁴⁴ *ibid.* p. 380. ⁴⁵ *ibid.* pp. 382, 384. (The figures below show the number of working dependents per mille of earners). ⁴⁶ *ibid.* p. 382. ⁴⁷ *ibid.* p. 391. ⁴⁸ *ibid.* p. 391. ⁴⁹ *ibid.* p. 391. ⁵⁰ *ibid.* p. 391. ⁵¹ *ibid.* p. 391.

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⁵⁶ *ibid.* p. 41. ⁵⁷ *ibid.* p. 41. ⁵⁸ *ibid.* p. 42. ⁵⁹ *ibid.* p. 42. ⁶⁰ *ibid.*
p. 42. ⁶¹ *ibid.* p. 42. ⁶² *ibid.* p. 42. ⁶³ *ibid.* p. 43. ⁶⁴ *ibid.* p. 43.
⁶⁵ *ibid.* p. 43. ⁶⁶ *ibid.* p. 44. ⁶⁷ *ibid.* p. 44. ⁶⁸ *ibid.* p. 44.
⁶⁹ *ibid.* p. 394. ⁷⁰ *ibid.* p. 395. ⁷¹ *ibid.* pp. 396, 397. ⁷² *ibid.*
p. 397. ⁷³ *ibid.* p. 397. ⁷⁴ *ibid.* p. 399. ⁷⁵ *ibid.* p. 399. ⁷⁶ *ibid.*
p. 399. ⁷⁷ *ibid.* p. 50. ⁷⁸ *ibid.* p. 401. ⁷⁹ *ibid.* p. 402. ⁸⁰ *ibid.* p. 402.
⁸¹ *ibid.* p. 402. ⁸² *ibid.* p. 402. ⁸³ *ibid.* p. 402. ⁸⁴ *ibid.* p. 402.
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⁸⁹ *ibid.* p. 403. ⁹⁰ *ibid.* p. 427. ⁹¹ *ibid.* p. 427. ⁹² *ibid.* p. 403.
⁹³ *ibid.* p. 393. ⁹⁴ *ibid.* p. 405. ⁹⁵ *ibid.* p. 414. ⁹⁶ *ibid.* p. 414.
⁹⁷ *ibid.* p. 414. ⁹⁸ *ibid.* p. 415. ⁹⁹ *ibid.* p. 415. ¹⁰⁰ *ibid.* p. 415.
¹⁰¹ *ibid.* pp. 494, 495. ¹⁰² *ibid.* p. 495. ¹⁰³ *ibid.* p. 495. ¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*
p. 526. ¹⁰⁵ *ibid.* p. 494. ¹⁰⁶ *ibid.* p. 496. ¹⁰⁷ *ibid.* p. 496.
¹⁰⁸ *ibid.* p. 534. ¹⁰⁹ *ibid.* p. 534. ¹¹⁰ *ibid.* p. 534. ¹¹¹ *ibid.* p.
534. ¹¹² *ibid.* p. 628. ¹¹³ *ibid.* p. 628. ¹¹⁴ *ibid.* p. 628. ¹¹⁵ *ibid.*
pp. 499, 528—532. ¹¹⁶ *ibid.* p. 499. ¹¹⁷ *ibid.* p. 496. ¹¹⁸ *ibid.*
p. 496. ¹¹⁹ *ibid.* p. 496. ¹²⁰ *ibid.* p. 496. ¹²¹ *ibid.* p. 496.
¹²² *ibid.* p. 497. ¹²³ *ibid.* p. 497. ¹²⁴ *ibid.* p. 499. ¹²⁵ *ibid.* p. 535.
¹²⁶ *ibid.* p. 535. ¹²⁷ *ibid.* p. 535. ¹²⁸ *ibid.* p. 535. ¹²⁹ *ibid.* p. 535.
¹³⁰ *ibid.* p. 535. ¹³¹ *ibid.* p. 535. ¹³² *ibid.* p. 501. ¹³³ *ibid.* p. 501.
¹³⁴ *ibid.* p. 501. ¹³⁵ *ibid.* p. 502. ¹³⁶ *ibid.* p. 448. ¹³⁷ *ibid.* p. 446.
¹³⁸ *ibid.* p. 449. ¹³⁹ *ibid.* p. 455. ¹⁴⁰ *ibid.* pp. 457, 459. ¹⁴¹ *ibid.*
p. 460. ¹⁴² *ibid.* p. 460. ¹⁴³ *ibid.* p. 460. ¹⁴⁴ *ibid.* p. 460.
¹⁴⁵ *ibid.* p. 461. ¹⁴⁶ *ibid.* p. 461. ¹⁴⁷ *ibid.* p. 461. ¹⁴⁸ *ibid.* p. 461.
¹⁴⁹ *ibid.* p. 463. ¹⁵⁰ *ibid.* p. 463. ¹⁵¹ *ibid.* p. 464. ¹⁵² *ibid.* pp.
464, 467. ¹⁵³ *ibid.* p. 467. ¹⁵⁴ *ibid.* p. 467. ¹⁵⁵ *ibid.* pp. 467,
468. ¹⁵⁶ *ibid.* p. 485. ¹⁵⁷ *ibid.* pp. 486, 487. (See also *Linguistic*
Survey of India, Vol. I, p. 31.) ¹⁵⁸ *ibid.* p. 487. ¹⁵⁹ *ibid.* pp.
487, 488. ¹⁶⁰ *ibid.* p. 489.

CHAPTER FIFTH

THE BIHAR AND ORISSA PROVINCE

Area

The area of Bihar and Orissa including the Feudatory States is 111,702 square miles.¹ The British territory and the Feudatory States have areas of 83,054 and 28,648 square miles respectively.²

Natural Divisions

There are five natural divisions in the Province. Of these, three divisions are well marked.³ Each is more or less homogeneous in itself, but widely different from the other two both in point of physical features as well as in respect of inhabitants.⁴ Bihar proper in the North, the coastal districts of Orissa in the extreme south-east and the Chota Nagpur Plateau covering in the whole of the intervening country are the three sub-provinces.⁵

Bihar proper is the eastern portion of the Gangetic valley and is bounded on the north by the lower spurs of the Himalayas.⁶ It is purely an agricultural tract of land and exceptionally fertile.⁷ It is more densely populated than any other part of the Province.⁸ The Chota Nagpur Plateau is a picture in contrast to Bihar forming the north-eastern portion of the table-land of Central India and its undulating surface varying from about 500 to 3,000 feet above sea-level.⁹ It has vast jungle areas of which the Province can boast.¹⁰ Cultivation is

done principally in the valleys.¹¹ The plateau has a great fund of mineral wealth, which is still largely undeveloped.¹² The Chota Nagpur Plateau is sparsely populated and is the home of many non-Aryan tribes.¹³

Orissa lies in-between the Chota Nagpur Plateau and the Bay of Bengal.¹⁴ It is a low lying strip of country formed by deltas of the Mahanadi, Baitarani and Brahmani rivers and is exposed to the dangers of flood.¹⁵ Orissa has always been much isolated.¹⁶ Communications between the various parts of the Province are very poor.¹⁷

Administrative Divisions

The Province has five administrative divisions—Tirhut, Bhagalpur, Patna, Chota Nagpur Plateau and Orissa. Bihar proper is divided into two sub-divisions: (1) North Bihar and (2) South Bihar. The North Bihar has 6 districts: (1) Saran, (2) Champaran, (3) Muzaffarpur, (4) Darbhanga, (5) Bhagalpur and (6) Purnea. The South Bihar has 4 districts: (1) Patna, (2) Gaya, (3) Shahabad and (4) Monghyr.¹⁸ The districts of Saran, Champaran, Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga are in the administrative division of Tirhut; the districts of Bhagalpur, Purnea and Monghyr in the administrative division of Bhagalpur and the districts of Patna, Gaya and Shahabad in the administrative division of Patna.¹⁹ Orissa has 3 districts: (1) Cuttack, (2) Balasore and (3) Puri.²⁰ The districts of Hazaribagh, Ranchi, Palamau, Manbhum and Singhbhum are in the administrative division of the Chota Nagpur Plateau.²¹ The district of Santal Parganas is in the administrative division of Bhagalpur and the Angul and the Sambalpur Districts are administratively under Orissa.²²

Population and Density

The population of Bihar and Orissa with an area of 111,702 square miles is 42,329,583.²³ The comparative figures in area and population of various countries bring out the importance of Bihar and Orissa in the table below:²⁴

<i>Country</i>	<i>Area in Square miles</i>	<i>Population (Thousands omitted)</i>	<i>Density per square mile</i>
Bihar and Orissa	111,702	42,330	379
England and Wales	53,343	39,948	685
Germany	181,723	63,181	348
Japan (Empire)	260,644	90,396	347
France	212,659	41,835	197

In other words, the Province of Bihar and Orissa supports a population somewhat larger than that of either England and Wales or France. Its approximation in point of density nearly reaches that of Germany and Japan. Bihar and Orissa as a province is twice as thickly populated as the rest of India.²⁵ Only two Provinces of India—United Provinces and Bengal—have a greater density than Bihar and Orissa and only three Provinces—Madras, Bengal and U. P.—have a larger population; but in respect of area it comes down in the scale.²⁶ The population of the British territory as well as the Feudatory States is 37,677,576 and 4,652,007 respectively.²⁷ The density of the former is 454 and of the latter 162.²⁸ The area occupied by the States is rather more than one-quarter of the whole Province, but their population is not much in excess of one-tenth.²⁹ The following table illustrates the figures in area, population and density by natural and administrative divisions of the Province:³⁰

<i>Natural Division</i>				<i>Area in Square miles</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Density, per square mile</i>
North Bihar	..	..	..	21,796	15,160,449	696
South Bihar	..	..	..	15,081	8,515,579	565
Orissa	..	..	..	8,201	4,202,461	512
Chota Nagpur Plateau	..	..	..	66,624	14,451,094	217
<i>Administrative Division</i>						
Patna	..	..	..	11,154	6,228,425	558
Tirhut	..	..	..	12,598	10,739,274	852
Bhagalpur	..	..	..	18,593	8,759,801	471
Orissa	..	..	..	13,706	5,306,142	387
Chota Nagpur	..	..	..	27,013	6,643,934	246
Feudatory States	..	..	..	28,648	4,652,007	162

The average population of a British district in Bihar and Orissa is 1,794,170; but of the most populous district it is 3,166,094.³¹ The average area of a district is 3,955 square miles, but the areas of the largest as well as most populous districts are 7,102 and 3,348 respectively.³²

Urban Population

The actual population of the urban Bihar and Orissa is estimated at 1,699,552 or 4 per cent of the total population.³³ The urban percentage varies according to the administrative and natural divisions:³⁴

<i>Administrative Division</i>							<i>Percentage</i>
Patna	..	..	..	..	..	..	8.6
Tirhut	..	..	..	..	..	..	2.8
Bhagalpur	..	..	..	..	..	..	3.6
Orissa	..	..	..	..	..	..	3.6
Chota Nagpur	..	..	..	..	..	..	4.7
<i>Natural Division</i>							
North Bihar	..	..	..	..	..	..	2.9
South Bihar	..	..	..	..	..	..	7.8
Orissa	..	..	..	..	..	..	3.9
Chota Nagpur Plateau	..	..	..	..	..	..	3.0

The urban population of the Feudatory States is 45,715 or 1 per cent of their population.³⁵ This shows that the urban element in the population of Bihar and Orissa is very slight and small. There are thus 40 persons per mille living in towns. There are only 85 towns in Bihar and Orissa.³⁶ Patna is the only town in Bihar and Orissa with a population of over 100,000.³⁷ Over 60 per cent of the total urban population reside in the towns classified I, II and III (i.e., Class I—Towns with a population of over 100,000; Class II—Towns with a population of 50,000 to 100,000; Class III—Towns with a population of 20,000 to 50,000).³⁸ As much as 38 per cent of the total urban population are found in towns containing more than 50,000 inhabitants each.³⁹ The proportionate percentage of urban population residing in towns is 37.9 for Classes I and II and 23.6 for Class III.⁴⁰ The average population of all the towns in the Province is 19,995.⁴¹ Of the natural divisions, South Bihar is much more urban in its features. Its urban proportion is just double that of Orissa, which is second in this respect.⁴² Orissa has only six towns in all.⁴³ Cuttock and Puri contribute more than 50 per cent of urban population of this natural division.⁴⁴

Urban Population by Religion

The distribution of urban population by religion is an interesting item of information that throws light on the numerical strength of communities living in urban areas of the Province. The tables given below illustrate the point:⁴⁵

I. *Urban Population by Religion*

					<i>Proportional strength of each community (Number per 10,000 of total population)</i>	<i>Percentage residing in Towns</i>
All religions					10,000	4'0
Hindu					8,318	3'6
Muslim					1,012	8'8
Purnea District					4,094	1'6
Elsewhere					846	10'6
Christian					98	7'2
Chota Nagpur Plateau					272	4'4
Elsewhere					8	52'6
Sikh					1'4	68'5
Jain					1'0	45'7
Zoroastrian					0'1	85'6

II. *Natural Division*

		<i>Number per 10,000 of Urban Population who are</i>				
		<i>Hindu</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Christian</i>	<i>Tribal</i>	<i>Others</i>
Bihar and Orissa ..		7,527	2,211	176	49	37
North Bihar ..		7,190	2,712	89	3	6
South Bihar ..		7,466	2,433	77	..	24
Orissa		8,265	1,530	193	8	4
Chota Nagpur Plateau		7,683	1,624	408	186	99

III. *Proportion of the Total Population and of each main religion who live in Towns*

Natural Division	Number per mille who live in towns								
	Total population	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Tribal	Sikh	Jain	Buddhist	Zoroastrian
Bihar and Orissa ..	40	36	88	72	3	685	457	61	856
North Bihar	29	25	45	440	7	28	414	1,000	1,000
South Bihar	78	64	193	607	4	670	769	620	902
Orissa ..	39	33	206	540	10	359	674	8	444
Chota Nagpur Plateau ..	30	31	102	45	3	826	276	57	860

The Hindu urban percentage is distinctly below the percentage for all communities taken together, though Hindus form the overwhelming majority of the Province.⁴⁶ In contrast to this the insignificant minorities of the provincial population comprise Sikh, Jain and Zoroastrian who have a higher urban proportion.⁴⁷ These are 'strangers' of the province.⁴⁸ Among the larger minorities of the Province, town life has less appeal and attraction; but the proportion of Muslims in urban areas is about two and a half times the proportion of Hindus.⁴⁹ The district of Purnea is *sui generis* in the matter and Muslims of Purnea can hardly be considered a 'Minority' at all.⁵⁰ In fact, they are twice as numerous as all the other communities put together in the sub-division of Kishanganj.⁵¹ In urban areas of the Province the Hindu ratio is barely three and half to one Muslim.⁵²

Muslims as a minority are more represented in Orissa than in any other natural division.⁵³ The Muslims have much lower percentage in urban areas of North Bihar, they are numerous in North Bihar even without Purnea.⁵⁴ The same principle applies to the districts also.⁵⁵ The Muslim community is least represented in the districts of Sambalpur (0.4 per cent) and Singhbhum (2.9 per cent) and in these districts their concentration in the towns is far greater than anywhere else.⁵⁶

Though the Chota Nagpur Plateau is the home of aboriginal tribes, Christians have a stronghold of their own.⁵⁷ The tribes form a majority of population and have not developed a taste for urban life.⁵⁸ They only are urban to a point of 0.3 per cent.⁵⁹ It is observed that "the primitive tribes are not strangers or immigrants in the Province. They are more native to it than any other community. They were tilling the soil before there were any towns on the plateau and they are tilling it still."⁶⁰

Rural Population

The Province of Bihar and Orissa is through and through an agricultural country. The predominant rural character is obvious on the basis of its rural population which is 40,630,031.⁶¹ In other words the rural percentage is 96.⁶² The distribution and percentage of population in rural areas of the Province as a whole and in each of its administrative and natural divisions are tabled below:⁶³

<i>Administrative Division</i>	<i>Actual Population</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Patna	5,692,865	91.4
Tirhut	10,436,249	97.2
Bhagalpur	8,446,269	96.4
Orissa	5,114,713	96.4
Chota Nagpur	6,333,643	95.3
<i>Natural Division</i>		
North Bihar	14,722,121	97.1
South Bihar	7,854,011	92.2
Orissa	4,040,211	96.1
Chota Nagpur Plateau	14,013,688	97.0

The rural population in the Feudatory States is 4,606,292 or 99 per cent of the total population.⁶⁴

The rural population of Bihar and Orissa per mille is 960—being highest in North Bihar (971) and lowest in South Bihar (922).⁶⁵ The average population of a village in the Province is 395, being highest in North Bihar (692) and lowest in the Chota Nagpur Plateau (260).⁶⁶

Rural Population by Religion

In rural areas of Bihar and Orissa, excluding Purnea, there are nearly 11 Hindus to 1 Muslim. Per 10,000 of rural population Hindus are 8,350; Muslims 962; Christians 95; Tribes 591 and Others 2 in the Province.⁶⁷ The tables illustrating the rural proportion of communities by religion in natural divisions and in villages are given below.⁶⁸

I. *Natural Division*

	<i>Number per 10,000 of rural population who are</i>				
	<i>Hindu</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Christian</i>	<i>Tribal</i>	<i>Others</i>
North Bihar	8,350	1,706	3	11	1
South Bihar	9,126	860	4	9	1
Orissa	9,724	236	7	32	1
Chota Nagpur Plateau ..	7,594	447	268	1,688	3

II. *Rural Population by Religion*

	<i>Proportional strength of each Community (Number per 10,000 of total population)</i>	<i>Percentage residing in villages</i>
All religions	10,000	96.0
Hindu	8,316	96.4
Muslim	1,012	91.2
Purnea District	4,054	98.4
Elsewhere	846	89.4
Christian	98	92.8
Chota Nagpur Plateau ..	272	95.5
Elsewhere	8	47.4
Sikh	1.4	31.5
Jain	1.0	54.5
Zoroastrian	0.1	14.4

Occupational Distribution

There are 16,911,148 earners and 699,023 working dependents engaged in all the occupations of the Province.⁶⁹ This means that it has a total of 17,610,171 earners or workers out of its provincial population of 42,329,583. 399 earners and 17 working dependents

per mille of total workers are engaged in occupational pursuits.⁷⁰ The general distribution by occupation of earners and working dependents is tabled thus:⁷¹

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Number per mille of earners (principal occupations) and working dependents</i>
All occupations	1,000
Agriculture	778
Stock-raising	16
Fishing and hunting	3
Industry	77
Exploitation of minerals	7
Textiles	12
Food industries	12
Dress and toilet	15
Commerce	44
Transport	8
Trade in food-stuff	21
Professions	12
Public force	2
Public administration	1
Other occupations	89
Domestic service	12

In subsidiary occupation per mille of workers agriculture engages 445, industry 231, commerce 145, professions 63 and other occupations 116.⁷² The total number of earners with a subsidiary occupation is 1,829,465. That is to say that one earner out of 9 has 'a second string to his bow.'⁷³ In the vast majority of the provincial population where people are occupied with two means of livelihood, agriculture will be one of them.⁷⁴ As a subsidiary means of sustenance 721,617 persons are engaged in the agricultural pursuit.⁷⁵

The distribution of the working population per mille in each natural division of the Province on the basis of occupation is as follows:⁷⁶

<i>Principal Occupation</i>	<i>North Bihar</i>	<i>South Bihar</i>	<i>Orissa</i>	<i>Chota Nagpur Plateau</i>
Agriculture	852	662	696	719
Industry	41	84	139	90
Commerce	32	55	76	42
Professions	8	15	25	15
Other occupations ..	67	183	64	59
<i>Subsidiary occupation</i>				
Agriculture	464	520	391	433
Industry	194	126	273	269
Commerce	144	109	177	141
Professions	58	61	92	96
Other occupations ..	140	184	67	101

Agriculture

In the principal and subsidiary occupational pursuits of the Province, agriculture holds a key-position.⁷⁷ Agriculture (exploitation of animals and vegetation) has no less than 13,702,355 workers or 77·8 per cent of the total working population of 17,610,171, who follow it as their sole or principal means of livelihood.⁷⁸ Agriculture as an occupation is incomparably the most important and accounts for over 97 per cent of workers included in the whole unit.⁷⁹ In the agricultural order of pursuits there are non-cultivating proprietors (119,966), cultivating owners (375,126), tenant-cultivators (8,842,429) and agricultural labourers (3,970,963).⁸⁰ The non-cultivating proprietors are mainly landlords, whose sole interest in the agricultural property is rent-receiving. They are nearly non-and-unproductive elements of the agricultural population. As against these, 13,188,518 agricultural workers of different classes are more native to the soil and sanguine in labour and

work. They are productively virile factors in the well-being of their agricultural occupations.

Industry

As an occupation, industry is of secondary importance. It is to a great extent dependent on agriculture, which forms not only its base but also provides human material for its growth and development. The Chota Nagpur Plateau of the Province is rich in minerals. In the industrial occupations 1,226,869 workers are engaged.⁸¹ The general distribution of workers among various industrial lines is as follows:⁸²

<i>Industry (by order)</i>							<i>Actual number of earners and working dependents</i>
Textiles	..	..	..	..	..	..	208,995
Wood	..	..	..	..	..	..	140,749
Metals	..	..	..	..	..	..	93,014
Ceramics	..	..	..	..	..	..	115,564
Chemical products	..	..	..	..	..	..	81,888
Food industries	..	..	..	..	..	..	204,466
Dress and toilet	..	..	..	..	..	..	269,332
Building	..	..	..	..	..	..	30,670
Miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	..	..	76,558

Transport and Trade

Transport by water, road, rail and post employs 133,660 persons.⁸³ Trade provides means of livelihood to 642,937 persons.⁸⁴ As an occupational pursuit it is also interlinked with the agricultural one. The Province has shown on the strength of its statistical data that agriculture, industry and trade have much common

ground to traverse in supplementing one another. In the future upbuilding of the Province agriculture has to form a base for industrial and commercial activity. Both industry and trade without agricultural support and co-operation will go lippy. So in the reorganization and planning of agriculture as a basic provincial occupation, industry and trade will have to reset their principles in the light of an agricultural economics.

Professions and Liberal Arts

The total strength of persons engaged in different professions and liberal arts is 161,967.⁸⁵ Religion gives occupation to 81,811 persons; law to 8,129; medicine to 19,518; letters, arts and sciences to 21,445.⁸⁶

Other Occupations

Persons living on their income are 2,292 in all.⁸⁷ The domestic service employs 206,888 persons.⁸⁸ In the insufficiently-described occupations 1,265,975 persons are engaged.⁸⁹ In the unproductive occupation 93,787 persons eke out their livelihood.⁹⁰

Religion

The social map of the Province of Bihar and Orissa illustrates all religions in deeper and lighter shades. The major religions are those of Hindus, Muslims, tribes and Christians, while the minor religions pale before them to an infinitesimal point. The truth of the matter is that "except the Chota Nagpur Plateau, Hindus and Muslims monopolize the field to such an extent that no other community can be visibly represented."⁹¹ The number per 10,000 of the population of each community is 8,318 (Hindu); 1,012 (Muslim); 569 (Tribal); 98

(Christian); and 3 Others.⁹² In other words, the percentage of Hindus is 83, Muslims 10, adherents of tribal religions 6 and Christians 1.⁹³

Hindus

An absolute majority of the population in every district of Bihar and Orissa, except Singhbhum and the Santal Parganas, is claimed by Hindus.⁹⁴ Of the total population of the Province Hindus are 35,206,352 or 83·2 per cent.⁹⁵ They are more numerous than any other single community in the districts of Singhbhum and Santal Parganas; but "tribal religions" run them close and in comparison with Muslims, Christians and others, they are just over 50 per cent of the whole.⁹⁶ The preponderance of Hindus is most glaring in the natural division of Orissa, where they form over 95 per cent of the population of each district.⁹⁷ Above 90 per cent of the Hindu population are in the districts of Sambalpur (98·8) and Shahabad (92·2).⁹⁸ In North Bihar as a whole the Hindu proportion falls considerably because of a strong Muslim concentration in the Purnea District.⁹⁹ It is said that "this is the only district outside the Chota Nagpur Plateau where the percentage of Hindus falls below the provincial average of 83·2 per cent."¹⁰⁰ The Hindu community is strongest of all in Orissa.¹⁰¹

Hindu Castes and Sects

It is a general phase of the Hindu community to hinduize politics with a view to achieving maximum political strength and solidarity so that it could counteract the political forces of other communities. Nearly all the Census Reports on the Provinces make this point so crystal clear that Hindus insist on the application of the

term '*Hindu*' to all the inhabitants of India and that no Hindu should record his caste or sect. The Sanatanist, the Buddhist, the Sikh, the Jain, the Arya Samajist, the Brahmo, the Vaishnava and other sects are all Hindu without denominations or nomenclatures. It is asserted that Hinduism "recognises no fine distinctions between the process of reclamation, absorption and conversion." It is also stated that "there is no rule laid down by the Rishis or the Shastras that the Hindu religion must be confined to India and to men born in that faith. From the Vedic days up to the Mohammadan invasion, the Hindu religion has been a proselytising religion. Its aim is to reclaim all those who or whose ancestors once wandered away from the parent fold of Hinduism and to initiate into Hinduism those, who from enquiry or study are convinced of the excellences of the fundamental principles of Hinduism and want to embrace the faith. For the peace and happiness of the world unite the followers of all creeds and doctrines of Indian and non-Indian origin into one great religious brotherhood, spiritualising them with the soul-enfranchising ideals of Sanatan Dharm."¹⁰²

Such an idealistic Hindu world in itself is a social anachronism. The Hindu society is a caste-society and caste is still 'the foundation of the Indian social fabric.' It is a fact that "every Hindu is born into a caste and his caste determines his religious, social, economic and domestic life from the cradle to the grave." That the emergence of new social tendencies in the Hindu society is visible in the form of relaxation of caste restrictions and taboos, is a fact but the range of their effectiveness is confined to a very small group of the Hindu population. This phase of breaking away from

caste barriers is noticeable in urban areas where economic and social factors powerfully help in the change from the lower to a higher social status; but even in this social change there is no evidence forthcoming that the changed status is casteless or caste-free.¹⁰³ What is being done or affected is the raising of the lower caste to a higher caste. This also is happening in Bihar and Orissa to such an extent that "indications of a caste consciousness, more acute and aggressive than ever before" are perceptible.¹⁰⁴ Such a work of social reform is being organized by caste Sabhas with a view to enhancing social status of the lower strata of the Hindu society.¹⁰⁵

In the district of Palamau, which is one of the most backward areas of the Province, Dusadh, Teli, Kahar, Kurmi, Koiri, Ahir, Dabgar, Kharwar, Rochbandhia, Gour and Chamar are brahmanized by the caste Sabhas.¹⁰⁶ It is remarked that "all the movements and Sabhas in this district mostly from 1924 up to now had been for social evolution mainly on the basis of religious ideas for adoption of the customs and rituals of the higher class of the Hindus by accepting sacred thread and adding 'Singh' or 'Sarmaji' to their names and abolishing the habits of drink, eating fowls and meat and so on. They are only anxious for the change of the names of their castes and sects than the formation of a new sect altogether."¹⁰⁷ The anxiety of various castes to improve their status in the social hierarchy shows no signs of the ultimate collapse of the caste system; but mere indications of the way in which it is adjusting itself to modern conditions.¹⁰⁸ There are signs of greater laxity in matters of marriage between sub-castes of the same caste, but between different castes the phenomenon is unheard of.¹⁰⁹

The Hindu population of Bihar and Orissa still believes in the horizontal divisions rather than in the vertical sections of society.¹¹⁰ In Bihar and Orissa the Hindu population is classified as (1) Brahman (2) depressed classes and (3) Other Hindus which are shown in the table below with their numerical strength.¹¹¹

<i>Hindu Population</i>							<i>Numerical Strength</i>
Brahmans	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,100,000
Depressed Hindus	..	..	..	..	..	..	6,500,000
Non-depressed hinduized aboriginals					..	..	2,900,000
Other Hindus	..	..	..	..	..	..	23,700,000

There are in the Province ten outstanding castes (or more correctly nine castes and one tribe) which account for some 16½ million persons or about 38·5 per cent of the provincial population.¹¹²

The Depressed Classes

In the Province the depressed classes total 6,510,192.¹¹³ The line of cleavage between the caste Hindus and the untouchable castes is not much marked in Bihar and Orissa.¹¹⁴ Educationally, they are above the average for all communities taken together; economically they are as a rule far better off than the great cultivating castes; but the orthodox Hindu denies them the right of worship in the Hindu temples.¹¹⁵ The ordinary rights of citizenship are not conceded to the Chamars or Doms of the Province.¹¹⁶

The Primitive Tribes

The primitive tribes belong to the pre-Aryan stock as well as to the Munda and Dravidian families.¹¹⁷ Among

these tribes the process of absorption into Hinduism has set in some, while the others retain their identity.¹¹⁸ There are some who have been converted into Christianity.¹¹⁹ The table below shows their numerical strength by religion:¹²⁰

Tribal religions	..	..	..	..	..	2,335,310
Hindu	..	..	..	..	..	2,949,334
Christian	..	.	..	..	..	358,777

In addition to these 24 tribes, there are 17 tribes of the Munda or Dravidian origin. Their strength is as follows:¹²¹

Tribal religions	..	..	..	..	..	59,197
Hindu	..	..	..	..	..	1,410,127
Christian	..	..	..	..	..	4,343

It may be said that roughly seven million persons are comprehended in the primitive or semi-primitive tribes of the Province, which thus represent about one-sixth of the provincial population.¹²² Nearly two million Hindus among the depressed classes belong to the tribes who have largely assimilated the outlook and incurred the disabilities of the lowest Hindu castes.¹²³

Such heterogeneous social factors serve a sandy foundation for the Hindu provincial population. The Hindu society is wanting in homogeneity.

Muslims

In Bihar and Orissa Muslims are 4,284,306 or 10·1 per cent of the total population.¹²⁴ In the north of the Province they are in their maximum strength; in the south their number dwindles to few hundreds.¹²⁵ No less than 94·5 per cent of Muslims in the Province are found

on the side of Palamau, Hazaribagh and Manbhum, while only 5·5 per cent to their south.¹²⁶ The district of Purnea alone contributes more than one-fifth of the whole Muslim population of Bihar and Orissa.¹²⁷ In the Purnea District Muslims form 40·5 per cent of the total population.¹²⁸ In the Kishanganj sub-division, Muslims are so overwhelming that they outnumber all other communities by 2 to 1.¹²⁹ In other districts of North Bihar the proportion of Muslims varies from 16·5 per cent (Champaran) to 11·2 per cent (Bhagalpur).¹³⁰ In the districts of Patna, Gaya, Monghyr, Hazaribagh and the Santal Parganas their proportion is as high as 10 per cent.¹³¹ In the coastal districts of Orissa the Muslim percentage drops down to 2·9.¹³²

The Census Report does not give any detailed account of the Muslim sects in Bihar and Orissa; but it observes that the origin, traditions and economic circumstances of the Muslims in the Purnea District are entirely different from those of their co-religionists in South Bihar, while the Oriya Muslims have little in common with either.¹³³ Muslims also are influenced by the demological factors of Bihar and Orissa. Their cultural setting is provincial. The homogeneity of race, tradition and custom leaves its indelible mark on the Muslim community as well.

Tribal Religions

The adherents of the tribal religions in the Province are 2,409,409 or 5·7 per cent of the total provincial population.¹³⁴ The tribes are found on the Chota Nagpur Plateau.¹³⁵ In other three natural divisions their numerical strength is 36,500.¹³⁶ Of these, all bordering districts of the Plateau—Balasore, Purnea, Monghyr and

Bhagalpur—have 35,500 tribal people.¹³⁷ Out of the total population of the districts of Singhbhum and Santal Parganas, the tribal percentages are 45 and 42 per cent respectively.¹³⁸ The Angul District comes next with 26 per cent, followed by the Ranchi District with 23·5 per cent.¹³⁹ In the rest of the Plateau, barring a few individual States the tribal proportion is less than one in ten.¹⁴⁰ About 275,000 persons since 1921 have deflected from tribal to other religions.¹⁴¹ There is a general tendency among the tribes to retain their tribal culture and resist the onslaught of “religious intrusion” on the part of other communities.¹⁴²

Christians

There are 416,726 Christians in Bihar and Orissa and they are 1 per cent of the total provincial population.¹⁴³ Of these, 6,380 are Europeans and 6,638 Anglo-Indians.¹⁴⁴ Indian Christians number 403,700.¹⁴⁵ In the districts of Patna, Manbhum and Singhbhum more than half the Europeans and Anglo-Indians are found, because of the location of the government headquarters, cantonment and industrial activity.¹⁴⁶ Monghyr, Ranchi and the Santal Parganas are the districts where they also are in relatively large numbers.¹⁴⁷ No less than 261,776 Indian Christians or 65 per cent of the whole number live in a single district—Ranchi.¹⁴⁸ The Feudatory States account for about 74,600 and the bulk of the remainder is distributed between the tribal groups of Singhbhum, the Santal Parganas, Palamau and Manbhum.¹⁴⁹ Altogether 96 per cent of Indian Christians of the Province reside on the Chota Nagpur Plateau.¹⁵⁰ In the three coastal districts of Orissa there are nearly 5,000 Indian Christians; Champaran has 3,450 and Shaha-

bad 2,150.¹⁵¹ In the Purnea and Bhojpur Districts they also run into four figures and here again most of the Indian Christians are tribal.¹⁵²

Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists and Zoroastrians

The adherents of minor religions are numerically insignificant in the Province. Between Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists and Jews they claim only 3 adherents out of every 10,000 persons in Bihar and Orissa.¹⁵³ The total number of Sikhs is 5,869; Jains 4,052; Buddhists 2,295 and Zoroastrians 264.¹⁵⁴

Literacy

Bihar and Orissa has 1,853,094 literates or 52 per mille of the population aged 5 and over.¹⁵⁵ But in important cities the proportion of literacy rises high and varies between 171 and 240.¹⁵⁶

Literacy by religion among Christians is more than twice as high as among the members of any other major community; the percentage proportion being 785 per mille among non-Indian Christians and 96 per mille among Indian Christians.¹⁵⁷ The standard of tribal literacy is very low.¹⁵⁸

Between Hindus and Muslims there is a slight shade of difference in literacy. The proportion of Hindu literates per mille is a little under 100, while of Muslim literates a little over 100.¹⁵⁹ But this does not mean that the urban Muslim is more literate than the urban Hindu.¹⁶⁰ In the cities of the Province the proportion of Hindu literacy of either sex is higher than the proportion of Muslim literacy.¹⁶¹ The same also applies to most other towns as well.¹⁶² Hence it means that Hindus are more literate in urban as well as rural areas as separate regional units.¹⁶³

As the proportion of town-dwellers is so much greater among Muslims than Hindus, Muslims score a wee bit higher literacy on the basis of urban and rural areas taken together.¹⁶⁴

Literacy by caste is also interesting as it reveals the influence of certain castes in the life of the Province. Kayasthas and Karans enjoy the highest place in literacy.¹⁶⁵ The literacy percentage of Kayasthas is 37·2 and Karans 31·8.¹⁶⁶ Brahmans and Babhans (or Bhumi-har Brahmans) come next in the scale of literacy, the number of their literate persons per mille being 195 and 136 respectively.¹⁶⁷ Rajputs of Bihar have 120 literate persons in every thousand and Khandaits of Orissa 97 literates per mille.¹⁶⁸

Literacy in English

Just 5 persons per mille of the total population of Bihar and Orissa are literate in English or in all 178,701 persons as literate.¹⁶⁹ Here also Kayastha as a caste community greatly excels others.¹⁷⁰ Among Muslims 13 males per mille are literate in English and among Hindus the corresponding figure is 9 per mille.¹⁷¹

Languages

Though the linguistic map of Bihar and Orissa shows a polyglot, the Province is outside its range. It is stated that 49 Indian, 25 Asiatic and 13 European languages are spoken in the whole of the Province.¹⁷² But the majority of these languages are not indigenous to the country and are of no major importance. The number of persons speaking these languages is slight. So far as the linguistic problem of the Province is concerned the non-provincial languages do not count. For ins-

rance, five languages (Bhotia, Burmese, Murmi, Thado and Magari) belonging to the Tibeto-Chinese family are but spoken by only 42 persons in all.¹⁷³ In the same way Pashto (1,579 speakers) and Kashmiri (16 speakers) of the Indo-European family and Khasi (12 speakers) of the Austric family are insignificant.¹⁷⁴ Of the Dravidian languages Telugu (29,512 speakers), Tamil (2,111 speakers), Malayalam (430 speakers), Kanarese (57 speakers), are relatively unimportant.¹⁷⁵ Of the minor Indo-Aryan languages, Marwari (17,883 speakers), though a dialect of the Rajasthani language, is not peculiar to any particular part of the Province.¹⁷⁶ Similarly Banjari—another dialect of Rajasthani—is spoken by 4,401 persons only in Sambalpur and the Orissa States.¹⁷⁷

Another exotic language to the Province is Punjabi, which is spoken by 8,765 immigrants from the Punjab.¹⁷⁸ Gujarati (6,204 speakers) is spoken in Manbhum, Singhbhum and the Orissa States and has no linguistic claim on the Province.¹⁷⁹ In the same manner Naipali or Khas-Kura has 7,493 speakers, but is of no provincial importance.¹⁸⁰ The only other Indo-Aryan languages of least bearing are Marathi (1,712 speakers), Sindhi (339 speakers) and Assamese (31 speakers).¹⁸¹ Pashto (1,579 speakers) meets with the same fate.¹⁸² Four gipsy languages—Domra, Gulgaria, Malar and Nati—which are spoken by 687 persons are unimportant.¹⁸³ Only 425 persons speak Arabic, Armenian, Chinese and Hebrew languages.¹⁸⁴ European languages are spoken by 35 speakers.¹⁸⁵ Even English is spoken by only 13,020 persons in the Province.¹⁸⁶ The Census Report writes that “it was decided that no useful purpose would be served by showing English as a secondary language in any part of the Province. The cultural influence

of the English language in this country is, of course, great; but it is not specially evident in any particular zone nor is its effect confined to any particular community.”¹⁸⁷

Bihari

The Province of Bihar and Orissa has a peculiarity of its own in the realm of language. Hindustani, as a linguistic classification, is Urdu-cum-Hindi; but genuine Hindustani is spoken by very few persons in the Province, if the Urdu speakers are left out of account.¹⁸⁸ The fact is that Bihari is the language spoken by the majority of the population.¹⁸⁹ It belongs to the eastern group of the outer sub-branch of the Indo-Aryan branch and has three main dialects—Maithili, Magadhi and Bhojpuri—and these in their turn have various forms and sub-dialects.¹⁹⁰ Bihari has a great claim on Bihar, because it is the mothertongue of 27,921,455 persons or almost exactly two-thirds of the population of the Province speak it.¹⁹¹ It is said that “in Bihar it has what virtually amounts to a monopoly. There are five Bihar districts in which 999 persons out of every thousand speak this language.”¹⁹² In the south of Monghyr and Bhagalpur a little Santali is spoken—enough anyhow to secure representation in the linguistic map; but Purnea is the only district of Bihar in which other languages figure at all prominently.¹⁹³ The Araria sub-division of that district speaks Bihari, but in the two remaining sub-divisions some 12 per cent of the population speak either Bengali or some tribal language.¹⁹⁴ In the Hazaribagh and the Palamau Districts Bihari is spoken by not less than 90 per cent of their inhabitants; in the Ranchi and the Santal Parganas Districts the proportion of Bihari

is somewhat below 50 per cent, but after that it falls to 18 per cent in Manbhum and 9 per cent in Singhbhum.¹⁹⁵ Of the coastal districts of Orissa, Balasore has a slight higher proportion of Bihari speakers (3·3 per cent) than either of the others.¹⁹⁶ In the Feudatory States it is the mothertongue of 4 per cent of the population in which it is spoken by not less than one person in ten.¹⁹⁷ The number per mille speaking Bihari in the natural divisions is as follows:¹⁹⁸

<i>Natural Division</i>							<i>Bihari-speaking</i>
North Bihar	..	..	..	.	..	..	983
South Bihar	.	..	.	..	..	..	996
Orissa	..	..	..	..	..	..	30
Chota Nagpur Plateau	..	..	..	..	..	..	305

Hindustani—(Urdu-cum-Hindi)

Hindi as a language has a definite position in the Province; but Urdu is spoken by less than 8 per cent of the total Muslim community in the Province.¹⁹⁹ Its percentage varies from 2·3 in the Bhagalpur division to 43·9 in the administrative division of Orissa.²⁰⁰ The total number of Urdu-speakers is 293,638.²⁰¹ It may be mentioned in this connection that Urdu as a language has been much influenced by Bihari and has lost its Urdu-ness and shows a constant tendency towards local colouring in Bihar, while it is capable of preserving its own strength in Orissa, though it is commonly written in the Oriya script.²⁰² Hindustani—Urdu-cum-Hindi—occupies a somewhat peculiar position.²⁰³ In big urban centres Hindustani as Urdu-cum-Hindi is in current use as a medium of exchange of thought.²⁰⁴ Even in localities

where it is the mothertongue of a comparatively small minority, it also serves as a secondary language.²⁰⁵ In Orissa it has its use for the strangers and sometimes also for the Oriya businessmen.²⁰⁶ As a subsidiary language it has no importance in the Balasore and the Angul Districts and a number of the States of Orissa.²⁰⁷

Oriya

The language of the five districts of the Orissa (administrative) divisions, the Feudatory States and Singhbhum is almost entirely Oriya.²⁰⁸ There are 8,535,805 Oriya-speaking persons.²⁰⁹ Only about 10,500 are found in Ranchi and Manbhum.²¹⁰ 953 persons in every 1,000 in the three coastal districts of Orissa speak Oriya.²¹¹ Sambalpur comes next with 883 per mille, while in Angul and the Feudatory States Oriya is the mother-tongue of 3 persons out of 4.²¹² Even in a number of small States no other language is spoken except Oriya.²¹³

Bengali

In Bihar and Orissa 1,937,587 persons speak Bengali as their mothertongue.²¹⁴ The districts of Purnea, Santal Parganas, Manbhum, Singhbhum, and Balasore, which lie on the Bengal border, speak Bengali by 1 per cent or more of the total population.²¹⁵ The stronghold of the Bengali language is the Sadr sub-division of Manbhum, where 81 per cent speak it.²¹⁶ In the Dhalbhum sub-division of Singhbhum its percentage is 36; in the Jamtara and Pakaur sub-divisions of the Santal Parganas 30 and 25 respectively.²¹⁷ In the Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Cuttack, Patna, Puri, Bhagalpur and Monghyr Districts Bengali is least spoken.²¹⁸

Tribal Languages

These languages belong to the Munda Branch of the Austro-Asiatic languages and the intermediate group of the Dravidian languages.²¹⁹ The total number of persons who speak tribal languages is 3,838,000.²²⁰ Of these, 2,975,000 speak Munda languages and 863,000 Dravidian languages.²²¹ There are 17 Munda and 5 Dravidian languages.²²² The following table shows their distribution according to areas where such languages are spoken:²²³

<i>District</i>	<i>Sub-Division</i>	<i>Percentage speaking tribal languages</i>
Singhbhum	Sadr	69
Ranchi	Khunti	62
	Gumla and Simdegar	59
Angul	Koondmals	60
Santal Parganas	Pakaur	59
	Dumka	51
	Rajmahal	50

One person in every four on the Chota Nagpur Plateau speaks some tribal language.²²⁴ In the States of Mayurbhanj, Gangpur, Bonai, Saraikela and Kharsawan between 40 and 50 per cent of the population speak tribal languages.²²⁵ It may be observed in this connection that "language is an index not less valuable than religion of the extent to which a primitive race is preserving its separate identity and its tribal characteristics. The returns of religion suggest that the great races of the Santals, Oraons, Mundas and Ho have already been largely absorbed in the Hindu polity and the fact that among

all these races the use of their old original languages survives practically cent per cent serves to correct an impression which is somewhat misleading.”²²⁶ The tribal life and language as expressions of tribal culture maintain its indigeneness despite the forces of change. The preservation of language is essential. The primitive tribes have every right to seek recognition for their language in the Province. It is a wrong policy to ‘saddle’ any other language on them. To ‘religionize’ or ‘spiritualize’ their co-ordinated life is a direct attempt in the way of destroying the tribal social harmonies. Their culture is as good and sound as the culture of any other peoples of India. By giving them a rightful place in the Province the tribes can develop a sense of togetherness and commonness of interests and the dynamic forces of modern civilization can bring about changes in the tribal social fabric in a way conducive to their welfare. The present methods of proselytization will only disrupt them. The various communities will gather numerical strength without strengthening and elevating the primitive tribes. The tribal entity has to be counted in the socio-political reorganization of the Province.

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the three big cities which have between 50,000 and 90,000 inhabitants each. Nearly 25 per cent of the population of 85 towns of Bihar and Orissa reside in one or other of these four cities).

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CHAPTER SIXTH

THE BENGAL PROVINCE

Area

The Province of Bengal with Bengal States and Sikkim covers a territory of 85,773 square miles.¹ Of this the British territory is 77,521 square miles, the States of Cooch Bihar and Tripura 5,434 square miles and Sikkim 2,818 square miles.²

Natural Divisions

Geologically, the Province as a whole is homogeneous.³ Geographically, the difference between the various parts of the Province has much to do with the degree and nature of activity of their rivers.⁴ In Western Bengal the formative influence of rivers would have assisted in the completion of the process of land formation; but the "ill-advised interference with the natural action of river and sea by the creation of embankments and sea-walls" has exposed the country to dangers of flood.⁵ In Central Bengal the physical conditions are regulated by the recession eastwards of the Ganges as a delta forming stream.⁶ It is a region of dead or drying-up rivers and the problem is to secure in the old beds of the Ganges and its effluents a continued and adequate flow of water.⁷ In the greater parts of East Bengal the Ganges and Brahmaputra are still vigorously active in land formation.⁸ North Bengal is situated on the north of the Ganges and the west of the Brahmaputra and its hill portions as a natural formation fall into the area covered by the Terai, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and the northern parts of Assam.⁹

Administrative Divisions

The Province comprises 5 administrative divisions, 28 districts and 2 States of Bengal and Sikkim.¹⁰

Population and Density

The population of the Bengal Province is 51,087,338.¹¹ Its density is 616.¹² The comparative population table given below brings out the importance of the Province:¹³

<i>Province and Country</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Density</i>
Bengal	51,087,338	82,955	616
United Provinces .. .	49,614,833	112,191	442
Madras	47,193,602	143,870	328
Bihar and Orissa .. .	42,329,583	111,784	379
England and Wales .. .	39,947,931	58,343	685
Punjab (excluding Punjab States)	24,018,639	103,089	233
Bombay	26,271,784	151,593	173

Bengal contributes more than one-sixth of the population of the Provinces of British India.¹⁴ Its population is more than twice that of the Bombay Presidency (21,854,866) and the Punjab (23,580,852) and more than three times that of the Central Provinces and Berar (15,507,723).¹⁵ Bengal has an area more than two-fifths as large again as that of England and Wales together; but its population is little more than a quarter as large again.¹⁶ The area, population and density of the administrative divisions of the British territory in Bengal are tabled below:¹⁷

<i>Division</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Density</i>
Burdwan	13,984	8,647,189	618
Presidency	17,853	10,108,229	566
Rajshahi	19,163	10,668,066	557
Dacca	14,829	13,864,104	935
Chittagong	11,692	6,826,414	584

In area the Rajshahi Division is the largest. In population and density the Dacca Division comes first. The average district population of Bengal is 1,789,786.¹⁸ Its most populous district is Mymensingh (5,130,262).¹⁹

Urban Population

The total urban population of the Bengal Province is 3,711,940.²⁰ In the British territory it is 3,684,330 i.e., Burdwan Division (815,401); Presidency Division (1,988,089); Rajshahi Division (294,830); Dacca Division (429,033); Chittagong Division (156,977).²¹ Of the total population of Bengal no more than 7.3 per cent are urban.²² The three cities—Calcutta, Howrah and Dacca—take away a large share of 42 per cent from the total urban population of the Province.²³ No less than 54 per cent of the total urban population are found in the Presidency Division and another 22 per cent in the Burdwan Division because the largest towns are located in these divisions.²⁴ The proportion of urban population in the districts reveals the fact that there are no towns in the Chittagong Hill Tracts or Sikkim State and less than 2 per cent of the population live in towns in Jalpaiguri, Dinapur, Bogra, Jessore and Noakhali.²⁵ In the districts of Birbhum, Khulna, Faridpur, Bakarganj, and Tippera the urban proportion is not high as 2.5 per cent.²⁶ The districts of Rangpur, Mymensingh and Tippera form a strip in which the proportion of town-dwellers is between 25 and 30 per mille which is the same in the Rajshahi District also.²⁷ With the exception of the districts of Cooch Behar, Chittagong, Malda, Pabna, Dacca and Darjeeling nowhere in northern and eastern Bengal is the urban population more than 3 per cent.²⁸ In West Bengal and the western part of Central

Bengal the urban population forms a greater portion of the total.²⁹ Its greatest concentration is in the districts of 24-Parganas, Howrah and Hooghly where the proportion is between 15 and 25 per cent.³⁰ In Burdwan it is 8.2 per cent and in Bankura, Midnapore, Murshidabad and Nadia the urban ratio is between 4.0 and 7.5 per cent.³¹ The tendency for urban life ceases in the south-west of the Province.³²

The provincial urban population is spread over cities and towns. Nearly 96 per cent of the towns and villages in Bengal have less than 2,000 inhabitants and thus form 69 per cent of total population.³³ Of the urban population 73.1 per cent live in towns with a population of 20,000 and over, and 17.3 per cent in towns with a population of 10,000 to 20,000; but during the decades cities have gained a greater share of the proportion of population than towns of 20,000 to 50,000 or 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants and now absorbed 42 per cent of the total urban population.³⁴ In Bengal there are two classes of towns, industrial and non-industrial. The industrial towns are the centres of jute spinning, collection and pressing, coal (with iron smelting), railway, shipping etc.³⁵

Urban Population by Religion

The religious minorities—Jew, Sikh, Zoroastrian, Jain and Christian—principally live in the towns of Bengal.³⁶ In the Province of Bengal 37 Muslims and 115 Hindus per mille are urban.³⁷ The urban proportion by religion in natural and administrative divisions, districts and the States is tabled below:³⁸

Number living in towns per mille of the total population and of each principal religion

Natural and Administrative Division, District and State	All Religions	Muslim	Hindu	Tribal	Buddhist	Christian	Jain	Sikh	Jew	Zoroastrian
BENGAL ..	73	37	115	9	17	418	621	903	991	888
WEST BENGAL ..	94	119	91	6	536	669	321	816	1,000	887
BURDWAN DIVISION ..	94	119	91	6	536	669	321	816	1,000	887
Burdwan ..	82	95	79	19	111	678	490	579	1,000	1,000
Birbhum ..	22	20	25	1	.	316	15	..	..	..
Bankura ..	61	55	63	1	.	285	961	..	..	..
Midnapore ..	49	89	46	3	211	721	390	968	1,000	1,000
Hooghly ..	183	195	181	3	111	669	1,000	1,000	..	1,000
Howrah ..	232	238	228	431	610	669	822	526	..	876
CENTRAL BENGAL ..	197	108	270	5	911	673	905	992	992	920
PRESIDENCY DIVISION ..	197	108	270	5	911	673	905	992	992	920
24-Parganas ..	199	145	228	75	618	262	865	889	385	274
Calcutta ..	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Nadia ..	69	24	140	..	150	146	227	..	..	..
Murshidabad ..	67	38	105	1	.	568	728	667	..	..
Jessore ..	12	8	20	..	.	117	..	..	..	..
Khulna ..	22	15	28	..	11	86	91	..	..	..
NORTH BENGAL ..	28	16	46	..	136	132	371	201	1,000	444
RAJSHAHI DIVISION ..	28	16	46	..	136	132	371	201	1,000	444
Rajshahi ..	27	14	70	1	143	81	460	..	1,000	..

<i>Natural and Administrative Division, District and State</i>	<i>All Religions</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Hindu</i>	<i>Tribal</i>	<i>Buddhist</i>	<i>Christian</i>	<i>Jain</i>	<i>Sikh</i>	<i>Jew</i>	<i>Zoroastrian</i>
Dinaipur ..	11	6	16	..	91	49	303	..	..	..
Jalpaiguri ..	19	21	21	..	8	9	112	159	..	..
Darjeeling ..	136	322	121	..	152	374	613	..	1,000	900
Rangpur ..	25	13	55	..	667	442	376	1,000	..	..
Bogra ..	18	8	65	..	1,000	168	134	..	..	..
Pabna ..	38	27	74	..	..	234	339	158	..	..
Malda ..	34	33	38	..	..	16	161	..	..	..
COOCH BEHAR STATE ..	31	15	38	4	1,000	331	711	..	..	..
EAST BENGAL ..	28	18	56	3	12	98	287	275	..	..
DACCA DIVISION ..	31	19	62	5	5	71	288	1,000	..	..
Dacca ..	50	32	87	..	473	59	1,000	1,000	..	..
Mymensingh ..	27	17	63	5	800	28	278	1,000	..	..
Faridpur ..	21	12	36	..	462	29	..	..	..	..
Bakarganj ..	23	11	52	..	2	117	..	..	..	..
CHITTAGONG DIVISION ..	23	16	47	1	128	474	..	170	..	..
Tippera ..	24	14	54	..	16	581	..	..	..	..
Noakhali ..	14	12	21	667	13	274	..	..	..	..
Chittagong ..	32	22	63	9	39	761	..	170	..	..
TRIPURA STATE ..	25	13	32	..	..	1	..	1,000	..	..

(Note—Chittagong Hill Tracts and the State of Sikkim contain no towns)

Rural Population

Bengal is predominantly rural. The total number of rural population in the Province of Bengal is 47,375,398.³⁹ In other words, it is 92·7 per cent of the total population.⁴⁰ In the British territory it figures 46,429,672.⁴¹ Its distribution in the administrative divisions and the States is as follows:⁴²

<i>Administrative Division</i>							<i>Rural population</i>
Burdwan	..	..	..	..	..	..	7,831,788
Presidency	..	..	..	..	..	..	8,120,140
Rajshahi	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,373,236
Dacca	..	..	..	..	..	..	13,435,071
Chittagong	..	..	..	..	..	..	6,669,437
STATES							
Cooch Behar	..	..	..	..	..	..	572,856
Tripura	..	..	..	..	..	..	372,870

The table given below shows the number per mille of rural population residing in villages by natural divisions:⁴³

<i>Natural Division and State</i>	<i>Population</i>			
	5,000 and over	2,000 to 5,000	500 to 2,000	Under 500
Bengal	47	205	473	275
West Bengal	14	102	456	428
Central Bengal	25	180	550	245
North Bengal	61	181	422	336
East Bengal	61	268	476	195
STATE				
Cooch Behar	55	93	563	289
Sikkim	..	..	330	670
Tripura	..	..	225	775

The rural percentage of major communities—Muslim, Hindu and Tribal by natural divisions is given below:⁴⁴

<i>Natural Division</i>					<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Hindu</i>	<i>Tribal</i>
All Bengal	..	..	..	..	96.3	88.5	99.1
West Bengal	..	..	..	..	88.1	90.9	99.4
Central Bengal	..	..	..	..	89.2	73.0	99.5
North Bengal	..	..	..	..	98.4	95.4	100.0
East Bengal	..	..	..	..	98.2	94.4	99.7

Occupational Distribution

Out of the total provincial population of 50,114,002 only 14,414,422 are workers and the remainder 35,699,580 as non-working dependents.⁴⁵ Similarly in the Bengal States, out of 973,336 persons as many as 689,850 are non-working dependents and only 283,486 are workers.⁴⁶ That is to say, in Bengal (British territory) the total numerical strength of workers is 14,130,936. Of the workers 663,837 in British territory and 283 in the Bengal States are working dependents.⁴⁷ The percentage of workers on the total provincial population is 28.8 or 288 per mille (of whom 13 are working dependents).⁴⁸

The general distribution of workers (principal earners and working dependents) by occupational sub-classes is tabled below:⁴⁹

<i>Occupation (by sub-class)</i>	<i>Number of workers</i>	<i>Percentage of workers in each sub-class</i>
All Occupations	14,420,461	100.00
Exploitation of animals and vegetation	9,856,461	68.34
Exploitation of minerals	43,074	0.29
Industry	1,269,073	8.80
Transport	278,931	1.93
Trade	928,102	6.43
Public force	57,697	0.41
Public administration	49,329	0.35
Professions and liberal arts	280,290	1.95
Persons living on their income	24,946	0.17
Domestic service	803,996	5.58
Insufficiently-described occupations	622,638	4.32
Unproductive	205,924	1.43

The percentage of workers engaged in all subsidiary occupations on an all-Bengal basis is 2.4.⁵⁰ Pasture and agriculture as an occupation is the chief field of economic activity for the subsidiary earners.⁵¹ In the Burdwan Division the percentage for subsidiary occupation workers is 3.9; in the Presidency Division 2.2; in the Rajshahi Division (including Cooch Behar) 2.6; in the Dacca Division 1.6; in the Chittagong Division (including Tripura State) 1.9.⁵² It is interesting to observe that the percentage of the total population of workers with any subsidiary occupation in all occupations is 8.2 (all-Bengal) and in pasture and agriculture 4.9.⁵³

Agriculture

The production of raw materials as an agricultural pursuit is at the top of all occupational classifications.⁵⁴

It provides occupation for 10,131,227 workers who are engaged either in the exploitation of animals and vegetation (10,088,153 principal earners and 724,262 subsidiary) or in the exploitation of minerals (43,074 principal earners and 1,519 subsidiary).⁵⁵ The occupation of pasture and agriculture provides employment for 9,895,728 persons in Bengal, a number representing 1,937 in every 10,000 of the total population amongst whom 1,885 per 10,000 or 9,477,076 are employed in ordinary cultivation.⁵⁶ Those who have a subsidiary means of livelihood also pursue pasture and agriculture. Their number is 697,656 and of these, 674,718 follow the ordinary cultivation.⁵⁷

The Rajshahi and the Dacca Divisions contribute their largest number of workers to the occupation of pasture and agriculture.⁵⁸ The Chittagong Division gives a quota more than three-fourths of its workers to the agriculture pursuit.⁵⁹ Even in the Presidency Division, which is the industrial core of the Province, the percentage of workers engaged in agriculture is 56.⁶⁰ The Burdwan Division supplies 60 per cent of its workers to pasture and agriculture though it also has an industrial importance.⁶¹

In the whole of Bengal only 2·4 per cent of the population has any subsidiary occupation, the proportion being highest (3·9 per cent) in the Burdwan Division.⁶² The vast bulk of the workers having subsidiary occupation falls back upon pasture and agriculture as a means of livelihood.⁶³

Under the category of production of raw material the strength of agricultural workers of all kinds in different orders is tabled below.⁶⁴

<i>Occupation (by order)</i>	<i>Earners (principal occupation & working depen- dents)</i>	<i>Earners (subsidiary occupation)</i>
Exploitation of animals and vegetation		
1. Pasture and agriculture	9,895,728	697,656
(a) Ordinary cultivation	9,477,076	674,718
Non-cultivating proprie- tors taking rent in money or kind	633,834	157,144
Estate Agents and Managers of private owners	1,148	181
Estate Agents and Managers of Government	92	8
Rent Collectors, Clerks etc.	43,346	8,487
Cultivating owners	5,210,389	240,521
Tenant cultivators	831,106	58,292
Agricultural labourers	2,718,939	207,729
Cultivators of Jhum, Taun- gya, and other shifting areas	38,222	2,356
(b) Cultivators of special crops, Fruits etc., (Planters, Mana- gers, Clerks and Labourers)	293,267	11,430
(c) Forestry	6,392	1,585
(d) Stock-raising	118,262	9,082
(e) Raising of small animals and insects	731	841
2. Fishing and hunting	192,425	26,606

Exploitation of Minerals

In the exploitation of metallic minerals there are 802 earners (principal, working dependents and subsidiary); but in the field of non-metallic minerals 42,353 are principal earners and working dependents and 1,438 subsidiary earners.⁶⁵ Coal alone engages 43,602 workers.⁶⁶

Industry

Next to the production of raw materials, industry assumes a definite position in the economic pursuit and activity of Bengal. It engages 1,281,808 earners (principal and working dependents) and 114,878 subsidiary earners. The following table illustrates the distribution of workers in various activities of the industrial line:⁶⁷

<i>Industry (by order)</i>	<i>Earners</i>	
	<i>(principal and working dependents)</i>	<i>Earners (subsidiary occupation)</i>
Textiles	457,622	28,313
Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom	12,036	1,488
Wood	14,112	21,453
Metals	50,716	5,348
Ceramics	79,224	9,743
Chemical products	38,270	4,168
Food industries	179,023	11,895
Industries of dress and the toilet	172,449	20,162
Furniture industries	2,905	140
Building industries	54,402	4,048
Construction of means of transport	5,320	813
Production and transmission of physical force	3,329	70
Miscellaneous and undefined industries .	86,400	7,237

The textile industry is practically confined to the towns on both sides of the Hooghly in the 24-Parganas, the Howrah and the Hooghly Districts.⁶⁸ The cotton industry is the only other textile industry of importance in Bengal.⁶⁹ Cotton spinning, sizing, and weaving are mainly found in the Dacca and the Burdwan Divisions.⁷⁰ The great majority of industrial workers are engaged in cotton ginning, cleaning and pressing in the Presidency Division and particularly in the 24-Parganas.⁷¹

Transport

Transport by air, water and road gives means of livelihood to 283,283 earners (principal and working dependents) and 34,931 earners (subsidiary occupation).⁷² In postal, telegraph and telephone services there are in all 11,519 earners (principal, working dependents and subsidiary).⁷³

Trade

As an occupation of economic activity trade engages 941,058 earners (principal and working dependents) and 140,722 earners (subsidiary occupation).⁷⁴ The following table gives a clear idea of the number of workers engaged in the various categories of trade:⁷⁵

<i>Trade (by order)</i>	<i>Number of workers</i>	
	<i>Earners (principal and work- ing depen- dents)</i>	<i>Earners (subsidiary occupa- tion)</i>
Banking establishments of credit, exchange and Insurance	49,793	11,893
Brokerage, Commission and Export	9,097	718
Trade in textiles	63,630	14,523
Trade in skins, leather and furs	24,469	3,041
Trade in wood	17,989	5,293
Trade in metals	2,143	126
Trade in pottery, bricks and tiles	9,343	1,221
Trade in chemical products	3,828	527
Hotels, cafés, restaurants etc.	14,386	970
Other trade in food-stuffs	508,732	78,853
Trade in clothing and toilet articles	7,561	721
Trade in furniture	12,195	1,178
Trade in building materials	3,117	579
Trade in means of transport	5,924	1,741
Trade in fuel	14,463	3,053
Trade in articles of luxury & those pertaining to letters and other arts and sciences	39,351	3,480
Trade of other sorts	155,037	12,795

Public Administration and Liberal Arts

The total number of workers engaged in public administration and liberal arts is 393,178 (principal earners and working dependents) or 77 per 10,000 of the total population.⁷⁶ Out of these 50,297 (principal earners and working dependents) are employed in public administration or 10 per 10,000 of the total population; in professions and liberal arts (including religion, law, medicine, instruction, letters, arts and sciences) 283,851 earners (principal and working dependents) are engaged or 55 per 10,000 of the total population; in miscellaneous occupations (including persons living on their income, domestic service, insufficiently-described occupations and unproductive) the number of earners (principal and working dependents) is 1,673,525 or 328 per 10,000 of the total population.⁷⁷

Occupation by Religion

It is instructive to know about the distribution of occupation by religion. The following table brings out the strength of different communities engaged in different occupations:⁷⁸

Religion

The social map of the Province of Bengal is illustrative of the actual distribution of population by religion. It also brings out the fact to lime light that the distributional proportion of each religion in all areas has nothing to do with factors of race or language. The population of all religions is so much mixed up and overspread in all provincial regions that it is only possible to demarcate each religion on the basis of its proportional strength. To allocate or assign a specific territorial area to an exclusive unit of religion is an impossible task. Bengal is a country of high or low percentage of each religion. That territory is conterminous with religion in Bengal is not a sociological fact.

The total numerical strength of each religion is as follows:⁷⁹

Muslim	..	..	..	..	..	..	27,810,100
Hindu	..	..	..	..	..	..	22,212,069
Tribal	..	..	..	..	..	..	529,419
Buddhist	..	..	..	..	..	..	330,563
Christian	..	..	..	..	..	..	183,067
Others	..	..	..	..	..	..	22,120

Muslims contribute more than 54 per cent of the total population of the Province.⁸⁰ They preponderate particularly in East Bengal and North Bengal, forming 71 and 60·8 per cent of the total population respectively.⁸¹ In Central Bengal their strength is less than half of the population and in West Bengal a little more than 14 per cent.⁸²

Throughout all Bengal the Hindu population is 43·5 per cent.⁸³ Hindus overwhelmingly predominate in West Bengal, their proportion being 82·9 per cent of the population.⁸⁴ They also form 51·25 per cent of the population in Central Bengal and 36·4 per cent of the

population in North Bengal.⁸⁵ Hindus are a little more than one-fourth of the total population (27·37 per cent) in East Bengal.⁸⁶

The proportion of other minor religious communities is inconsiderable as compared with Muslims and Hindus. Their proportion scarcely amounts to more than 1 per cent of the total provincial population.⁸⁷ In West Bengal the tribal religions form 2·75 per cent of the population and in North Bengal nearly 2 per cent of the population.⁸⁸ In East Bengal the only considerable community is Buddhist which constitutes nearly 1·25 per cent of the total population.⁸⁹

Religious Constitution of Rural and Urban Areas

The distribution by each main religion per 10,000 of the total urban and rural population by natural divisions is shown in the following tables:⁹⁰

I. URBAN POPULATION

<i>Natural Division</i>	<i>Number per 10,000 whose religion is</i>					
	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Hindu</i>	<i>Tribal</i>	<i>Buddhist</i>	<i>Christian</i>	<i>Others</i>
BENGAL	2,785	6,907	13	42	206	47
WEST BENGAL—						
(Burdwan Division) ..	1,782	8,022	18	2	152	24
CENTRAL BENGAL—						
(Presidency Division)	2,593	7,030	16	17	275	69
NORTH BENGAL—						
(Rajshahi Division and Cooch Behar) ..	3,545	5,967	2	289	150	47
EAST BENGAL—						
(Dacca Division, ..	4,243	5,683	2	2	68	2
Chittagong Division and Tripura State) ..	4,810	4,900	1	180	105	4
SIKKIM—						

II. RURAL POPULATION

Natural Division	Number per 10,000 whose religion is					
	Muslim	Hindu	Tribal	Buddhist	Christian	Others
BENGAL	5,652	4,147	111	66	23	1
WEST BENGAL— (Burdwan Division)	1,376	8,313	302	..	8	1
CENTRAL BENGAL— (Presidency Division)	5,241	4,657	68	..	33	1
NORTH BENGAL— (Rajshahi Division and Cooch Behar)..	6,156	3,577	184	53	28	2
EAST BENGAL— (Dacca Division, Chittagong Division and Tripura State)..	7,184 7,176	2,765 2,451	13 18	9 348	29 7	....
SIKKIM	10	4,287	2,453	3,225	25	..

On the statistical basis of urban and rural distribution of population per 10,000 by natural divisions it becomes clear that Hindus everywhere form the great majority of the urban population in Bengal as a Province as well as in natural or administrative divisions. But the rural population of Muslims in all Bengal is more than the Hindu rural population. Except West Bengal, the Muslim rural population over-scores the Hindu rural population.

Muslims, as a rural community, are more strongly represented in Central, North and East Bengal. The minor communities are more urban than rural except Buddhists and the primitive tribes who are more rural than urban in East Bengal and West Bengal respectively.

Distribution of Muslims by Divisions

Muslims are in overwhelming numbers in the Chittagong and the Dacca Divisions of East Bengal where they are 73·68 and 70·93 per cent of the population respectively.⁹¹ In Rajshahi (North Bengal) they contribute 62·24 per cent of the population.⁹² Their contribution does not rise to even a half of the population in the Presidency Division (Central Bengal).⁹³ Their percentage is 47·20.⁹⁴ They amount to only 14·14 per cent of the total population in the Burdwan Division (West Bengal).⁹⁵

Distribution of Muslims by Districts

It is stated that "they form a fairly solid block of more than 50 per cent of the population in a land running throughout the whole of Bengal from the districts of Murshidabad, Malda and Dinajpur on the north-west to Bakarganj, Noakhali and Chittagong on the south-east. Their proportion reaches more than 80 per cent in Bogra, between 70 and 80 per cent in Rangpur, Rajshahi, Pabna, Mymensingh, Tippera, Bakarganj, Noakhali and Chittagong; between 60 and 70 per cent in Nadia, Jessore, Faridpore and Dacca and from 50 to 60 per cent in Dinapore, Malda and Murshidabad. At the three angles of the Province, in Darjeeling (and also in Sikkim), in Bankura, Burdwan, Hooghly and Midnapore and in the Chittagong Hill Tracts they form less than 20 per cent. In other districts their proportions vary from 20 to 50 per cent."⁹⁶

In the State of Sikkim the Muslim proportion is negligible; but in Cooch Behar and Tripura States it forms only 35·34 and 27·2 per cent of the population respectively.⁹⁷

Distribution of Hindus by Divisions

In the Burdwan Division (West Bengal) Hindus are found in largest numbers, their proportion being 82·85 per cent of the population.⁹⁸ They are 51·24 per cent of the population in the Presidency Division (Central Bengal).⁹⁹ In the Rajshahi Division (North Bengal) and the Dacca and the Chittagong Divisions (East Bengal) their proportions are 34·89 (Rajshahi Division), 28·55 (Dacca Division) and 22·65 (Chittagong Division) per cent of the population respectively.¹⁰⁰

Distribution of Hindus by Districts

It is stated that "in Bankura, Hooghly and Midnapore, Hindus form over 80 per cent of the population; in Howrah, Burdwan and Darjeeling their proportions are between 70 and 80; in Birbhum, Calcutta, 24-Parganas, Jalpaiguri and the States of Cooch Behar and Tripura they form 60 to 70 per cent of the population and in Khulna also they have just a clear majority over all other communities. In Bogra and Chittagong Hill Tracts they form 16 and 18 per cent and in all other districts their percentage is less than half of the total population."¹⁰¹

The actual distribution of population by major religions—Muslim and Hindu—brings out in bold relief the social fact that Bengal is a country where the Muslim population stands in inverse ratio to the Hindu population or *vice versa*. The determination of a majority or minority of Muslims or Hindus is due to the preponderance of major religion of either community. The importance of the question of a majority or minority waxes or wanes with the predominance or the lack of predominance of either major religion. The majority population does not preclude the possibility of forming a Mus-

lim or Hindu "microcosm," but also helps in the building up of a Muslim or Hindu "macrocosm." In the whole distribution of provincial population the question of 'communal' minorities of major religions in Muslim or Hindu zones loses its importance and significance, when these are actually compared with the real minorities of minor religions of the Province. These minorities of major religions fall into a majority group before the minorities of minor religions whose percentage is very slight. The crux of the matter is that Muslims and Hindus are major communities in Bengal. In the two divisions—East Bengal and North Bengal—Muslims command a majority, while in the other two divisions—West Bengal and Central Bengal—Hindus predominate. To weigh Muslims and Hindus in the scale of majority or minority is a travesty of social reality. The majority principle on the basis of communal distribution of population will be a glaring camouflage.

Bengal has to solve the problem of major communities not on the basis of a faked or untenable theory of ill-distribution or over-distribution of population of one religious section against another religious section of people, but on the solid foundations or principles of economics or occupational functions of the groups of people. This way lies success in the co-ordinated efforts and labours of the various 'communities' as functional groups and will assist in cultivating and promoting the spirit of nationalization in the Province of Bengal. If, instead of the principle of representative functionalism, communal politics is let free to influence the provincial public life, Bengal, like the Punjab, would be another ghastly scene of communal, inter-communal and intra-communal complications because of the nepotic domina-

tion of specific castes or groups of major religions. Bengal shows no definite signs of a homogeneity in the world of its religions. Politics as religion is sure to complicate political issues and land the Province in the quagmire of political disorder, strife and stagnation. Communalism as a 'representative' principle of politics will hang on Bengal like Damocles' sword.

Hindu Castes and Sects

Though a certain section of the people of the urban Bengal has made progressive strides in social matters, the rural Bengal is ancient and static. There is a growing feeling among the urban Hindus to adjust their social system to the changing spirit of the times. The Census Report informs that the educated Hindus are not disposed to the 'retention' of the caste system; but Bengal is not witnessing the formation of a casteless Hindu society. It is a fact that even the reformed Hindu movements, which are after the transformation of the whole Hindu society on the democratic principle, have changed themselves into only reformed sects. The importance of their existence has become sectional. Though Hindus are exhibiting signs of change in their attitude towards caste restrictions, touch and food taboos, 'Prayaschitta,' the 'pan' system, purdah, child marriage, the status of women, the joint family, widow re-marriage¹⁰² and are eager to idealize Hinduism and to propagate and proselytize their idealized faith, they are forgetful of the fact that the basic structure of their own society is caste-principled. Caste ramifies, disintegrates and dismembers. Bengal, like other Provinces, has not cut itself away from the social institution of caste. Its fundamental life is a reflection of the caste stratification, regulation and con-

trol. Caste thus is at the bottom of provincial life. In the mastery and dictation of political power, Hindus function as a unitary group, but in reality it is the domination of certain Hindu castes as the sole representatives of all Bengal Hindus that is being witnessed. These alone hold the key-positions and Hindus as a community are at their mercy. This phase of politics is the natural result of the superiority of one caste group over another caste group. In practical politics it amounts to much inter-communal and intra-communal bickering, ill-will, animosity and nepotic behaviourism.

In this way social, economic and political injustice and tyranny masquerade as justice and fair play. Communalized politics has bolstered up the principle of nepotism in its various forms—communal, inter-communal and intra-communal. One hundred and thirty main castes form the base of the Hindu society in Bengal.¹⁰³ These also have their sub-castes. Of these, many are endogamous. Between castes and their sub-castes the custom of inter-marriage is tabooed. Though the educated members of sub-castes do not object to inter-marriage, the overwhelming majority abide by the law of custom. Between these castes and sub-castes millions of Hindus are distributed. Different ethnic elements are interwoven in the texture of caste and sub-caste groups of Bengal.¹⁰⁴ This is the cause of the varied customs and usages of different castes and sub-castes. The so-called Bengal Hindu society is a conglomeration of peoples of different cultural patterns and forms. In other words, it is a form of society governed by laws of each caste group.

The central idea of caste is 'freedom' within group life; but no 'freedom' outside the group. One could

disown his group-personality as an outlaw; but his breaking away from it does not change the facade of the group structure. Caste groups thus live, though the changes are just like ripples on the surface of water due to the time factors.

Bengal is caste-saturated. Of the 130 castes with their sub-caste demarcations, there are only five most numerous castes in Bengal. Mahishyas who form the largest Hindu caste in the Province are practically confined to the districts of West Bengal, although a certain number are also found in North Bengal and East Bengal.¹⁰⁵ The majority of the Mahishya population is engaged in the agricultural pursuits of life.¹⁰⁶ Namasudras, who constitute the second largest Hindu caste in Bengal, are mainly numerous in the lower delta in districts of Mymensingh, Dacca, Tripura, Faridpur, Jessore, Khulna and Bakarganj and also form a considerable proportion of the population in Pabna, Nadia, Rajshahi and Midnapore.¹⁰⁷ They are chiefly in rural areas engaged in agriculture and its allied occupations.¹⁰⁸ The Rajbhangis are confined to the area of North Bengal and are interspersed sparingly in the districts outside North Bengal.¹⁰⁹ This caste of Rajbhangis is third most numerous group of Hindus.¹¹⁰ Kayasthas, who are numerically fourth in order, are chiefly found in the two divisions of East Bengal, in Jessore, Khulna and Calcutta; but the caste is widely spread and, except in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and in the districts of the Rajshahi Division, at least 11 in every 100 persons in every district is a member of this caste.¹¹¹ In Chittagong almost one-half and in Noakhali nearly one-fifth of the Hindu population are Kayastha.¹¹² The Kayastha caste is strongly represented in all occupations.¹¹³

The general diffusion of the Brahman caste is even more marked.¹¹⁴ They are principally found in the Burdwan and the Presidency Divisions; but they also, except in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and some four districts of the Rajshahi Division, form at least 1 per cent of the total population in every district in Bengal.¹¹⁵ They constitute 6·5 per cent of the total Hindu population and are the fifth largest Hindu caste in the Province.¹¹⁶ In the occupational pursuits they nearly take the same rank as Kayasthas.¹¹⁷ The Brahman preponderance is highest among Hindus in Calcutta and Bankura.¹¹⁸ Among other castes, Bauri, Hari, Khambu, Lepcha and Muchi belong to the agricultural occupation.¹¹⁹

Muslims

The provincial culture has left its deep stamp on the Muslim population of Bengal. The Census Report does not furnish information regarding the sectional life of the Muslims of Bengal; but it reveals the fact that the Bengal Muslim is an integral part of the provincial cultural life. He still is a true specimen of the Bengali culture. Though communalism is destroying the feelings of commonness and togetherness among Muslims and Hindus in urban areas, the rural Bengal is still a living picture of cultural concord and harmony. It is stated that "in many parts of the country the Muslim peasant is indeed tolerant of Hindu practices and joins to some extent in Hindu worship. Muslims used to take part in the famous Janmastami procession at Dacca and even at the present time instances are reported in other parts of the Province of specific Hindu practices followed by the Muslims. The use of combined Muslim and Hindu names is not unusual in more than one part

of Bengal. In Jessore it is reported that the Muslims revere the tulsi plant and bel trees and observe the festivals of Jamai Sashthi and Bhratridwitiya. In Bogra in some areas the Muslims observe the Hindu period of ceremonial uncleanness (*asauch*) on the death of parents and at its conclusion shave the beard and head; the women wear the vermilion mark of Hindu wives and the worship of Durga is frequent. It is even reported that there the navanna ceremony is universal and that Muslims from great distances travel to the shrine of Gopinath at Gopinathpur to offer fruit and milk and to bathe in a well for the cure of their ailments whilst at Mahasthan Muslims as well as Hindus mark their iron safes with vermilion on the Dasara day and perform the Satyapir *Pujah* with offerings of sinni. In Jalpaiguri, Muslims propitiate the goddess Buri by flinging offerings of rice or fruit (*naivedya*) into the stream. The Buri *puja* is also observed by Muslims in Rangpur particularly during the spell of continuous misfortune or on undertaking any litigation. In Pabna Manasa or Bisahari is often worshipped by them and they contribute towards the Kali *puja* particularly in the time of epidemics, whilst the worship of Sitala, the goddess of small-pox, is almost universal and professing specialists of the disease, calling themselves Kaviraj though Muslim, will admit to taking fees for the express purpose of propitiating the goddess. Practices such as the use of turmeric (*gaya halud*) at the marriage ceremony have also been borrowed from the Hindus. Inter-communal borrowing is not confined to the Muslims the unsophisticated Hindu will render reverence to any manifestation of holiness without any enquiring what religion it exemplifies and *pirs* and *fakirs* or their memory receive veneration and offerings

in many parts of Bengal".¹²⁰ The Census Report further adds that "this approximation of practices is, however, discountenanced by the orthodox and efforts are made by preachers of both communites to purge away observances not consistent with strict communal bigotry."¹²¹

The integration and interpermeation of Hindu and Muslim cultures were the natural consequence of the coming into a close contact of communities. It was the spirit of harmonious living together that assisted in the formation of a Bengali culture, whose fascinating make-up was the work of Muslims and Hindus alike. In the past the Bengali life was moulded by Muslim and Hindu thinkers and religionists who evolved a common philosophy of life based on democratic principles. It was the direct result of their labours that Hindus and Muslims were nurtured into a common way of living and thinking that characterized the provincial life. This Hindu-Muslim phase of life was a social peculiarity not of Bengal alone but also a cultural asset for the whole of India. It is a thousand pities that Hindu and Muslim communalists of to-day are after the destruction of their own common cultural heritage, which was once brought into existence by the joint efforts of Hindus and Muslims. This Hindu-Muslim culture was the life-blood of the people of India.

The zeal for 'reformation' on the part of Hindu and Muslim leaders of thought and action has blinded their vision to the indispensability of a common living culture and narrowed their outlook on 'life' by disrupting the common cultural life of the country, which as a matter of fact should have formed a formidable rocky base for their 'structures'. They should have started their work on the foundation of an existing common culture. To

disown the culture of a country due to religious bigotry and fanaticism is to kill one's own soul as culture is the vital fluid that sustains the life of the people. It always is above the prejudices of race, creed and colour. It is most unfortunate that the India of modern times has dropped off the cultural link, while the India of the medieval past had laid the foundation of a common culture for its social edifice. The clash between Hindus and Muslims is the direct result of a crooked way of thinking on a non-cultural plane. Hence cultural values are to be considered at a higher par than communal values.

Hindu and Muslim communalists do not realize the fact that religion has a peaceful mission to perform in the life of people. It ought to work as an amalgam and cement life-forces. To utilize it for creating disharmony, disunity and disintegration among peoples and peoples is against the spirit of religion itself. The idealization of religion is appreciable, but its approach to life problems ought to be humanizing. Religion as expounded by Hindus and Muslims of the medieval India was a humanizing force that was instrumental in promoting peace, concord and unity among various communities of India. Religion, as a philosophy of life, served as a *modus vivendi*. Its message was peace-promoting and community-integration; but the communalistic thinking class, Hindu and Muslim has ignored the value of religion in the determination of community life and ideal. Their religion is not an all-comprehensive power that can create amity and friendliness among communities and cultivate the sense of appreciation for the cultures of 'mlechchhas' and 'kafirs.' The false estimation of religion is a disturbing social factor in estranging human relationship.

To make people believe in the heralding 'dawn' is an easy task; but to make them live a 'new life' is an attempt that fails of its own accord, with the result that it leaves behind bitterness and animosity. To segregate people on the basis of religion is a move on the wrong tract, because sociological factors much more than religious factors play a powerful rôle in the culturalization and enrichment of life. These culturalize people but religion stabilizes itself on their cultural conditions. In the India of to-day Hindus and Muslims are made to believe that their religio-social entity is distinct and separate; but the socio-cultural history of India has ample data to show that Hindu and Muslim cultures have thriven on a basis of synthesis. This has made Hindus or Muslims feel and live in a Hindu-Muslim way. In the life of both Hindus and Muslims the Hindu-Muslim factors were and are most defined. Both lived and live as a Hindu-Muslim symbol. Both were and are the true representatives of a Hindu-Muslim culture. Hindus and Muslims have the same provincial national characteristics due to the inheritance of a common culture.

The Bengal Muslim is a creation of his own Province. The Hindu 'accretions' on his life-forms are due to his sense of alignment and reciprocity to cultural values and standards of the Province. To negate the influence of provincial culture from his life is to negate his provincial existence. In this way his anachronistic existence loses the force of personality in influencing and enriching the culture of Bengal. It is against the law of social progress to wrench him away from the socio-cultural setting of the Province and it is a crime to make him feel that in the evolution of his personality the indigenous culture of the Province has nothing to contribute.

Such an attitude of mind is being developed in both communities residing in urban areas. Hindus as well as Muslims feel that the characteristics of their cultures are discriminative; but they forget one cogent fact that in the making of the Bengali culture various cultural currents were responsible for its development and growth. Hinduism and Islam may stand on different footings as religions; but on the soil of Bengal they met. The cross-fertilization of Hindu and Muslim cultures produced the Bengali culture. To wean Hindus and Muslims from the mainsprings of the Bengali culture is to set in a cultural toxic anaemia in communities.

Primitive Tribes

In Bengal there are 30 principal primitive tribes.¹²² Their total number in the British territory and in the Bengal States is nearly 1,782,000 or 3 per cent in each case.¹²³ Their numerical strength by administrative divisions is tabled below:¹²⁴

<i>Administrative Division</i>						<i>Numerical strength (nearly)</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Burdwan	..	..	..	..	..	629,000	7
Rajshahi	..	..	..	..	..	611,000	6
Chittagong	..	..	..	..	..	188,000	3
Presidency	..	..	..	..	..	101,000	1
Dacca	..	..	..	..	..	57,000	under 1

The religious distribution of the primitive tribes is as follows:—¹²⁵ (1) in the Presidency Division there are more primitive peoples professing a tribal religion than those professing Hinduism; (2) in the Burdwan Division 13 are Hindus for every 8 animists; (3) in the

Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong Divisions the Hindus outnumber those professing tribal religions by 9 to 5, 20 to 9 and 20 to 6 respectively. In the Province as a whole the ratio is 2 tribal Hindus to one animist.¹²⁶

Buddhists

In Bengal Buddhism is almost entirely confined to the Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri Districts in the north and to the Chittagong District and Chittagong Hill Tracts in the south-east of the Province.¹²⁷ The numerical strength of the Buddhists in Bengal is 330,563 or 0.65 per cent of the population.¹²⁸

Christians

The population of Christians in the Province is 183,067 forming 2.86 per cent of the total number of Christians in India.¹²⁹ In Bengal they constitute no more than 0.36 per cent of the total population.¹³⁰ They are most numerous as a community in the Presidency Division (81,273); in the Dacca Division (41,446) and in the Rajshahi Division (35,339).¹³¹ The Christian community comprises different racial elements and has 37 missions.¹³² The great majority of Christians in Bengal who are Indians or of European or allied races are protestants, while the majority of anglo-Indians are Roman Catholics.¹³³ This shows that the Christian community is split up into sectional divisions.

Other Religions

Other religions account for no more than 4 in every 10,000 of the total population of Bengal.¹³⁴ Of these, Jains contribute the largest number i.e., 9,669.¹³⁵ This small religious sect is composed of Svetambari Terapanthi and Digambari.¹³⁶ The Sikh population is smaller than the Jain amounting to 7,334.¹³⁷ They are mainly

found in Calcutta and the 24-Parganas numbering 5,247 and are employed in the Railway Workshops or administrations.¹³⁸ The total number of Zoroastrians is 1,520 of whom 1,261 are living in Calcutta and the 24-Parganas.¹⁴⁰ Confucians are 1,447 and mostly live in Calcutta.¹⁴¹

Literacy

The Province has 4,743,281 literates aged 5 and over out of a total population of 51,087,338.¹⁴² That is, the number of literates per mille is 110, inclusive of both sexes or 180 males and 32 females.¹⁴³ The ratio of literacy among males is highest in the Burdwan Division (252 per mille); but in the Presidency Division it is 205 per mille; in the Chittagong Division 183 per mille; in the Dacca Division 162 per mille; in the Rajshahi Division 125 per mille.¹⁴⁴ The district ratios in literacy vary between 6 and over 20 per cent.¹⁴⁵ Calcutta alone shows the highest degree of literacy (432 per mille or 476 males and 333 females per mille).¹⁴⁶ The average city literacy ratio is nearly 4 times as high as the whole of Bengal i.e., 414 in every 1,000.¹⁴⁷

Literacy in English

More than 1 male in every 5 who are returned as literate is literate in English.¹⁴⁸ The highest percentage of literacy in English is recorded in Calcutta where it is over 25 per cent.¹⁴⁹ The industrial area of Howrah and Hooghly and the Burdwan District show the next highest proportion of literacy in English which is 5 and 10 per cent of the population.¹⁵⁰ In other districts it ranges between over 2 and 7 per cent of the population.¹⁵¹

Literacy by Religion

The following table illustrates the general literacy as well as literacy in English of various communities of the Province:—¹⁵²

<i>Religion</i>	<i>Literate</i>		<i>Literate in English</i>	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
All Religions	180	32	43	5
Muslim	116	17	20	2
Hindu	259	49	68	6
Tribal	14	4	1	..
Buddhist	155	25	21	1
Christian	484	384	363	294
Jain	651	199	150	24
Sikh	548	244	124	35
Jew	727	680	694	495
Zoroastrian	702	584	577	492

The general literacy and literacy in English in the selected castes of the Province are given below:¹⁵³

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<i>Selected Caste or Group</i>	<i>Number of literate per 1,000</i>		
	<i>Both sexes</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Anglo-Indian (Christian)	895	893	897
Baidya (Hindu)	635	777	476
Brahman (Hindu)	452	645	216
Kayastha (Hindu)	401	571	209
Agarwala (Hindu)	344	491	117
Sayyad (Muslim)	273	410	115
Indian Christian	271	326	212
Shaha (Hindu)	268	438	85
Khambu (All Religions)	204	294	107
Lepcha (All Religions)	193	211	170
Mahishya (Hindu)	186	324	39
Baishnab (Hindu)	155	284	37
Jogi or Jugi (Hindu)	140	24	33

<i>Selected Castes or Groups</i>	<i>Number of literate in English per 10,000</i>		
	<i>Both sexes</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Anglo-Indian (Christian)	8,630	8,618	8,638
Baidya (Hindu)	3,454	5,294	1,403
Brahman (Hindu)	1,736	2,888	331
Kayastha (Hindu)	1,621	2,739	354
Indian Christian	1,275	1,592	937
Sayyad (Muslim)	754	1,263	168
Shaha (Hindu)	662	1,219	64
Agarwala (Hindu)	645	997	98
.. .. (Hindu)	252	473	19
Jogi or Jugi (Hindu)	221	396	32
Baishnab (Hindu)	217	417	35
Lepcha (All Religions)	120	150	90
Khambu (All Religions)	88	143	28

On the basis of all ages (7-13, 14-16, 17-23, 24 and over) the following literacy proportion for each religion in any language or in English is estimated below:¹⁵⁴

<i>Bengal</i>	<i>Numbers per 1,000 both sexes</i>		<i>British Territory</i>	<i>Numbers per 10,000 both sexes</i>	
	<i>in any language</i>	<i>in English</i>		<i>in any language</i>	<i>in English</i>
Muslim	57	9	Muslim	58	10
Hindu	138	33	Hindu	140	34
Tribal	7	..	Tribal	7	..
Buddhist	77	9	Buddhist	80	10
Christian	380	287	Christian	384	290

Languages

Though Bengal looks a polyglot, its linguistic problem is simple and uncomplicated. Many languages are spoken in the Province; but these pale into insignificance before the all-comprehensive provincial language, Bengali. It is the mothertongue of 923 in every 1,000 inhabitants of Bengal.¹⁵⁵ Even in the divisions of Dacca, Burdwan and Rajshahi, where other languages than Bengali are in current use, Bengali finally holds the ground. The proportions of Bengali speakers per mille in these divisions are 985, 879 and 877 respectively.¹⁵⁶ The following table shows the number per 10,000 speaking Bengali as mothertongue:¹⁵⁷

<i>Division</i>	<i>Bengali</i>
All Bengal	9,226
Burdwan	8,772
Presidency	9,510
Rajshahi (with Cooch Behar)	8,788
Dacca	9,885
Chittagong (with Tripura)	9,491

Hindustani is the next prevalent language in Bengal, though less than 4 per cent speak it in the whole Province.¹⁵⁷ Only in the Presidency Division its greatest prevalency is recorded where no more than 77 in every 1,000 speak it.¹⁵⁸ Its divisional numerical strength per 10,000 speaking as mothertongue is as follows:¹⁵⁹

<i>Division</i>	<i>Hindustani</i>
All Bengal	370
Burdwan	560
Presidency	766
Rajshahi (with Cooch Behar)	494
Dacca	71
Chittagong (with Tripura)	33

Hindustani is spoken as mothertongue by 1,891,337 persons in Bengal who constitute 370 in every 10,000 of the population.¹⁶⁰ In Calcutta, Malda, Jalpaiguri and Howrah it is spoken by a greater proportion of the population than elsewhere and in no other district do as many as one person in ten speak Hindustani as mothertongue.¹⁶¹ In Noakhali and the Chittagong Hill Tracts the proportion of its speakers is negligible.¹⁶² Hindustani is not the language of the Province but as a mothertongue it is principally the language of immigrants.¹⁶³

Kherwani, Tipara, Kurukh, Oriya, Naipali and Arakanese are among the important minor languages of the Province of Bengal. These are spoken by as many as one per mille of the total population.¹⁶⁴ Kherwani, with its eleven dialects, is the mothertongue of 879,829 persons.¹⁶⁵ It is spoken by more than 98 per cent of the total in West Bengal, Dinajpur, Malda, Rajshahi and Murshidabad.¹⁶⁶

Tipara is the tribal language of the indigenous inhabitants of the Tripura State and is spoken by 191,725 persons, of whom 148,298 are found in the Tripura State itself.¹⁶⁷

Kurukh or Oraon is spoken by 185,797 or 3.64 per mille of the total population of whom 105,668 or nearly 75 per cent are found in the Jalpaiguri District; more than 10,000 being found also in the districts of 24-Parganas, Rajshahi, Dinajpur and Darjeeling.¹⁶⁸

Oriya is the mothertongue of 3.13 per mille of the total population and spoken by 159,854 persons.¹⁶⁹ Its largest number of speakers (45,101) is found in the Midnapore District where it is indigenous. Its next highest number (38,135) resides in Calcutta. In the

24-Parganas there are 27,833 Oriya speakers and in the Howrah District 18,358.¹⁷⁰

Naipali is spoken by 134,147 persons and is the mothertongue of 2.62 per mille of the total population.¹⁷¹ In the districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri it is most prevalent, the proportions of Naipali speakers being 92,970 and 28,878 respectively, while in other districts those who speak it number as many as 1,000; but in Calcutta and Howrah there are 3,693 and 1,904 Naipali speakers respectively.¹⁷²

Arakanese is the mothertongue of 86,554 or 1.69 per mille of the total population of whom 56,180 are found in the Chittagong Hill Tracts; 13,485 in Chittagong; 11,975 in Bakarganj and 4,863 in the Tripura State.¹⁷³

Besides these languages of minor importance there are other languages in the Province as well that can have no claim in Bengal as provincial languages. For instance the languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan branch, the Assam-Burmese branch, the Dravidian family, the Iranian and Dardic branches, the outer-branch of the Indo-Aryan branch are restricted to specified areas or different small groups of people.¹⁷⁴ Nearly all speakers of minor languages are bilingual in the Province and Bengali is the language mostly used as a subsidiary language throughout the whole of the Province.¹⁷⁵

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 161 *ibid.* p. 354. 162 *ibid.* p. 354. 163 *ibid.* p. 355. 164 *ibid.* p. 355.

- ¹⁶⁵ *ibid.* p. 355. ¹⁶⁶ *ibid.* p. 359. ¹⁶⁷ *ibid.* p. 359. ¹⁶⁸ *ibid.*
p. 355. ¹⁶⁹ *ibid.* p. 355. ¹⁷⁰ *ibid.* p. 355. ¹⁷¹ *ibid.* p. 355.
¹⁷² *ibid.* p. 355. ¹⁷³ *ibid.* p. 355. ¹⁷⁴ *ibid.* pp. 362, 364. ¹⁷⁵ *ibid.*
pp. 365-366, 368-369.

CHAPTER SEVENTH

THE ASSAM PROVINCE

Ira

The Province of Assam has an area of 67,334 square miles.¹ It is thus roughly as large as England and Wales.²

Natural and Administrative Divisions

The Brahmaputra or Assam Valley, the Surma Valley and the Hills are the natural divisions of the Province.³ The Brahmaputra or Assam Valley comprises the districts of Goalpara, Kamrup, Nowgong, Darrang, Sibsagar, Lakhimpur and the administered areas of the Balipara and Sadiya Frontier Tracts.⁴ The Surma Valley consists of the district of Sylhet and the plains portion of the Cachar District and is by far the most thickly populated part of Assam.⁵ It may be observed in this connection that "the valley is linguistically and socially a part of Bengal and its inhabitants have few points of contact with the dwellers in the Assam Valley."⁶

The chief peculiarity about the Surma Valley is that it contains numerous tea gardens.⁷ The indigenous population of Sylhet forms only a small percentage of the tea garden element; but in the Cachar plains the tea garden population forms a third and a fourth part of the entire population.⁸ The administered area of the Balipara Frontier Tract is a belt of reserved forest running along the base of the Assam Himalayas with the clearing in the centre.⁹ It consists of two distinctive divisions—the Hills and the Plains.¹⁰ The country is thinly populated

and there is enormous scope for agricultural expansion in the plains.¹¹ The Sadiya Frontier Tract, like Balipara, has no defined outer boundaries.¹² It is most interesting to learn that beyond the administered area lie vast ranges of forest-clad hills and snow-covered mountains stretching to the distant confines of China, Tibet and Burma.¹³ The Hills as the natural division of Assam is a hilly country with a very poor density of population.

Population and Density

The population of Assam is 9,247,857 with a density of 137 per square mile.¹⁴ The distribution of population with area and density by natural divisions is as follows:¹⁵

<i>Natural Division or State</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Density</i>
Surma Valley and Hill Division (including Khari States) ..	27,870	3,888,047	140
Assam Valley	27,084	4,855,711	179
Frontier Tracts (administered areas of the Sadiya and Balipara Frontier Tracts)	3,760	58,493	16
Manipur State	8,620	445,606	52

It may be mentioned here that beyond the administered areas of the Sadiya and Balipara Frontier Tracts are large tracts of wild and mountainous country whose total area amounts to 18,473 square miles in the Sadiya Frontier Tract and 9,537 square miles in the Balipara Frontier Tract.¹⁶ Assam is, in fact, a thinly populated country because over half of its total area is hilly and mountainous.¹⁷

Districts

In the Brahmaputra Valley the Goalpara District has an area of 3,985 square miles and as much as 902 square miles of reserved forests.¹⁸ The district of Kamrup is the most populous and is one of the most important tea industry centres.¹⁹ The next largest district in point of population is Sibsagar. Its population is 933,326.²⁰ It is considered as one of the great tea districts in Assam and its future depends upon the condition of the tea industry.²¹ The population of Kamrup and Sibsagar has large percentage of the immigrant element from East Bengal.²² Lakhimpur is the largest tea district in Assam with a population of 724,582.²³ The population of other two districts of the Brahmaputra Valley is also influenced by the immigration of Eastern Bengal colonists or settlers.²⁴

The districts of Sylhet and Cachar in the Surma Valley have an area of 5,478 square miles and a population of 2,724,342 as well as an area of 1,972 square miles and a population of 537,687.²⁵ The population of Sylhet, by far the most populous district in the Province, is 2,724,342.²⁶ The administered area of the Sadiya Frontier Tract is 3,200 square miles and its population is 53,345 and its density 17 per square mile.²⁷

The total population of the Hill districts and States excluding the Mikir Hills but including the North Cachar Hills, is 1,262,535.²⁸ The density of the various Hill districts varies between 17 and 61 persons to a square mile.²⁹

Urban Population

To speak of Assam as an urban country is a misnomer. It is purely an agricultural Province.³⁰ The

numerical strength of the urban population is 315,917 or 34 per mille of the population of the Province.³¹ The Census Report informs that "the Assam figure of 34 per mille should be smaller still; it has been unduly swollen by the inclusion of Imphal, the capital of Manipur State, which has a nominal urban population of nearly 86,000. If we exclude two-thirds of the population of Imphal as not being urban in character—and it is at least that—the proportion of the total population of Assam which lives in towns falls to 28 per mille."³² The rural character of the Assam towns becomes too obvious when it is remembered that "many places in Assam which have been declared municipalities and 'small towns' have few urban characteristic and are really nothing but large villages which have the distinction of being sub-divisional headquarters. It is, in fact, only the large towns in Assam—towns to say 80,000 inhabitants and over—which have any real urban characteristics, and even they are largely rural in nature."³³ Many of the so-called towns are really nothing but large villages.³⁴ The Province has 30 towns in all.³⁵ The classification of towns by population is given below.³⁶

Towns classified by population

<i>Class of Towns</i>	<i>Number of towns in each class</i>	<i>Percentage of total urban population in each class</i>
TOTAL	30	100
100,000 and over .. ..	..	..
50,000 to 100,000	1	27·2
20,000 to 50,000	3	20·4
10,000 to 20,000	5	21·0
5,000 to 10,000	10	20·7
Under 500	11	10·7

The distribution of population by natural divisions and districts is also interesting. The following table illustrates the point:³⁷

<i>District and Natural Division</i>	<i>Average population per town</i>	<i>Number per mille resid- ing in town</i>
Assam	10,531	34
Brahmaputra Valley	7,442	30
Goalpara	7,147	24
Kamrup	13,009	40
Darrang	5,982	20
Nowgong	6,756	24
Sibsagar	5,794	25
Lakhimpur	6,979	39
Sadiya	4,370	82
Balipara .. .. .	..	..
Surma Valley	8,488	18
Cachar Plains	7,536	28
Sylhet	8,869	16
Hills	28,775	91
Garro Hills .. .. .	..	..
North Cachar .. .. .	..	..
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	13,268	92
Naga Hills	2,759	15
Lushia Hills .. .. .	..	..
Manipur State	85,804	193

The urban population by each main religion is tabled below:³⁸

I. Number per mille of the total population and of each main religion who live in towns

<i>District and Natural Division</i>	<i>Total population</i>	<i>Hindu</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Christian</i>	<i>Jain</i>	<i>Tribal</i>
Assam ..	34	46	20	33	364	7
Brahmaputra Valley ..	30	31	32	32	337	9
Goalpara ..	24	37	18	5	307	2
Kamrup ..	40	47	19	110	841	5
Darrang ..	20	20	39	8	170	1
Nowgong ..	24	29	20	91	187	..
Sibsagar ..	25	20	140	39	28	1
Lakhimpur ..	39	31	256	27	255	3
Sadiya ..	82	144	363	276	931	5
Balipara ..	No Urban Population					
Surma Valley	18	26	12	86	409	2
Cachar Plains	28	34	17	77	846	1
Sylhet ..	16	23	11	93	363	4
Hills ..	91	279	87	32	552	13
Garohills ..	No Urban Population					
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ..	92	519	543	87	667	29
North Cachar	No Urban Population					
Naga Hills ..	15	247	82	9	69	6
Lushai Hills ..	No Urban Population					
Manipur State	193	317	75	12	848	14

II. Religions by Urban Population

<i>Natural Division</i>	<i>Number per 10,000 of urban population who are</i>				
	<i>Hindu</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Tribal</i>	<i>Christian</i>	<i>Others</i>
Assam ..	7,615	1,761	298	263	63
Brahmaputra Valley ..	7,546	2,165	32	165	92
Surma Valley ..	6,214	3,673	3	81	29
Hills ..	8,422	278	778	477	45

Rural Population

Assam is a country of villages and tea gardens.³⁹ Of its total population 97 per cent reside in them.⁴⁰ There are 35,726 villages against 30 towns in the Province.⁴¹ The distribution of rural population by natural divisions and districts is tabled below:⁴²

<i>District and Natural Division</i>					<i>Average population per village</i>	<i>Number per mille residing in village</i>
Assam	..	..	..	..	250	966
Brahmaputra Valley	..	..	..	..	297	970
Goalpara	..	..	..	..	270	976
Kamrup	..	..	..	..	340	960
Darrang	..	..	..	..	290	980
Nowgong	..	..	..	..	236	976
Sibsagar	..	..	..	..	339	975
Lakhimpur	..	..	..	..	279	961
Sadiya	..	..	..	..	131	918
Balipara	..	..	..	..	130	1,000
Surma Valley	..	..	..	..	247	982
Cachar Plains	..	..	..	..	412	972
Sylhet	..	..	..	..	229	984
Hills	..	..	..	..	157	909
Garó Hills	..	..	..	..	88	1,000
North Cachar	..	..	..	..	97	1,000
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	..	..	..	..	108	908
Naga Hills	..	..	..	..	366	985
Lushia Hills	..	..	..	..	231	1,000
Manipur State	..	..	..	..	262	807

In rural areas of Assam the various religious communities are distributed in the following proportions:⁴³

<i>Natural Division</i>	<i>Number per 10,000 of rural population who are</i>				
	<i>Hindu</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Tribal</i>	<i>Christian</i>	<i>Others</i>
Assam ..	5,558	3,051	1,100	270	21
Brahmaputra Valley ..	7,209	1,994	604	156	37
Surma Valley ..	4,403	5,551	29	16	1
Hills ..	2,185	293	6,073	1,433	16

Occupational Distribution

Though the population of Assam has numerous occupations, a very small fraction of the population is engaged in them.⁴⁴ Its vast majority earns livelihood from some form of agriculture or is employed in agricultural pursuits.⁴⁵ There are per mille 452 principal earners and working dependents.⁴⁶ The proportion per mille of principal earners and working dependents, in each occupation is given below:⁴⁷

<i>Occupation (sub-class)</i>	<i>Number per mille of principal earners and working dependents</i>
Pasture and agriculture	850
Fishing	12
Mines	5
Industry	32
Transport	17
Trade	35
Administration and liberal arts	20
Miscellaneous	29

It is also interesting to learn that 60 workers per mille have some form of subsidiary occupation in addition to their principal occupation in Assam.⁴⁸

The following table shows the numerical strength of principal earners and working dependents by class and sub-class per 10,000 of the total population:⁴⁹

Earners (principal occupations) and working dependents

<i>Occupation (by class and sub-class)</i>	<i>Number per 10,000 of total population</i>
Earners and working dependents of all occupations ..	4,521
Production of raw materials	3,799
Exploitation of animals and vegetation	3,781
Exploitation of minerals	18
Preparation and supply of material substances ..	540
Industry	350
Transport	59
Trade	131
Public administration and liberal arts . . .	70
Public force	12
Public administration	11
Professions and liberal arts	47
Miscellaneous	112
Persons living on their income	2
Domestic service	36
Insufficiently-described occupations	41
Unproductive	33

Agriculture

The statistical data reveal the fact that agriculture is the most important occupation for the people of Assam.

The overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the Province earn their livelihood from some form of agriculture. Even among those workers who are engaged in subsidiary occupation 55 per cent are supported by agriculture.⁵⁰ Of all the earners 83·4 per cent are engaged in the occupation of agriculture.⁵¹ The distribution of agricultural groups according to their working population is tabled below:⁵²

*Number per mille of working population living on
cultivation distributed by groups*

Non-cultivating proprietors	..	..	..	..	..	12
Cultivating owners	..	..	..	..	..	550
Tenant cultivators	..	..	..	..	..	285
Agricultural labourers	..	..	..	..	..	34
Cultivators of Jhum	..	..	..	..	..	119

That Assam is mainly a land of peasant proprietors is a fact that needs no elaboration.

In agricultural pursuits the tea cultivation holds a key-position because it is the largest and most important rural industry.⁵³ Its deterrent influence is perceptible in urbanization of the country as it has an agricultural background.⁵⁴ The tea cultivation engages 637,000 workers (principal earners and working dependents).⁵⁵

Forestry has nothing to claim as an allied pursuit of agriculture on the statistical data; but it is a great mistake to ignore it as an occupational pursuit. Assam is a country of immense and vast forests though still to this day these forest areas are either reserved or unexplored. In the material development of Assam its forests are bound to contribute their quota of wealth, if the Pro-

vince undertakes to explore and exploit the forest riches in the form of minerals and wood. These forests are an unrivalled assets to Assam. The hand of man only can change them in untold economic wealth for the welfare of Assam which in fact is a country of tea garden and forests. In the national planning of Assam its forests will not only swell its coffers but greatly assist in industrializing the ruralized areas of the Province. In other words, agriculture will be supplemented by its allied pursuit—forestry.

Assam has oil and coal as its mineral wealth also. There are 8,377 earners engaged in oil fields and 6,376 earners in coal mines.⁵⁶

Industry

It is remarked that "Assam is not an industrial Province. It is an agricultural Province with no large towns of industrial centres. Its largest and most important industry, tea cultivation, is mainly agriculture. Apart from the tea industry the only large labour concerns are the coal mines and oil fields and a match factory. Secondly as an agricultural Province with land still available for settlement and no pressure of population, Assam has practically no indigenous industrial classes."⁵⁷ The number of earners (principal occupation and working dependents) per 10,000 of total population engaged in industry is 350.⁵⁸ Of these, textiles absorb the largest portion of industrial workers (250).⁵⁹ It is an undeniable fact that Assam can never become an industrial centre in the sense as it is understood technically; but the Province can certainly claim industry as its chief occupation in the agricultural pursuits. The ruralized form of industry can prosper and thrive, having its centre of

gravity in the villages instead of in the towns or cities. The villages of Assam can give great impetus to the development of industrial resources. The basis of reorganization of industries in Assam has to be agriculturalized. In this way alone Assam can find a sound footing for its industrial alignment and progress. The rural Assam will be a most formidable base for the furtherance of its industrial activity and work.

Trade

Next to industry trade as an occupation engages only 131 principal earners and working dependents per 10,000 of total population or a total of 120,748 workers.⁶⁰ It seems, on the basis of statistics, that the people of Assam are strongly represented in the occupation of trade.⁶¹ The highest number of trade earners (79 per mille) is found in the trade of food supply which indirectly means that even these are connected with occupation of agriculture.⁶² The poor state of trade as an occupational pursuit is due to the fact that Assam is an agricultural country and has no nationwide industrial activity to influence trade as an occupation.

Public Administration and Liberal Arts

Assam being a country of agriculturists shows a figure of 70 principal earners and working dependents per 10,000 of total population or a total of 61,821 as earners in the public administration and liberal arts.⁶³ Of these, public force engages 12; public administration 11; professions and liberal arts 47 (religion 20, law 3, medicine 8, instruction 12, letters, arts and science 4).⁶⁴ In the occupational categories—miscellaneous and un-

productive—there are 112 and 33 earners respectively per 10,000 of total population.⁶⁵

Religion

The Province of Assam has adherents of different religions; but only three religions—Hindu, Muslim and Tribal—form overwhelming population. The following table shows the numerical strength of each religion in sequential order:⁶⁶

Hindu (including Brahmo and Arya)	..	..	..	5,204,650
Muslim	..	..	..	2,780,514
Tribal	..	..	..	992,390
Christian	..	..	..	249,245
Buddhist	..	..	..	15,045
Jain	..	..	..	2,803
Sikh	..	..	..	2,729
Miscellaneous	..	..	..	480

Of the total population of Assam, Hindus are more than half; Muslims nearly one-third and tribes about one-ninth.⁶⁷ Hindus preponderate in the Assam Valley; Muslims in the Surma Valley and the tribes in the Hills.⁶⁸ This means that three main religions, Hindu, Muslim, Tribal, predominate in three natural divisions of Assam forming their minorities as well.

Hindus

Of the total population of the Province, Hindus are 56·3 per cent.⁶⁹ As there are only 448 Brahmos and 12 Aryas, they have been included in the total of Hindus.⁷⁰ They are insignificant as a community.⁷¹ The general distribution of the Hindu population by natural divisions and districts is given below:⁷²

I

<i>Natural Division</i>							<i>Hindu population</i>
Assam .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,204,610
Brahmaputra Valley .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,409,814
Surma Valley .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,447,198
Hills .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	347,198

II

<i>District and Natural Division</i>							<i>Number per 10,000 of the population who are Hindus</i>
Assam .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,628
Brahmaputra Valley .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	7,219
Goalpara .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	4,372
Kamrup .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	7,269
Darrang .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	7,791
Nowgong .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,790
Sibsagar .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	9,011
Lakhimpur .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	9,132
Sadiya .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	4,874
Balipara .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	7,403
Surma Valley .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	4,437
Cachar plains .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	6,208
Sylhet .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	4,087
Hills .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,753
Garó Hills .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,464
North Cachar .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	7,758
Khasi and Jaintia Hills .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	913
Naga Hills .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	361
Lushai Hills .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	321
Manipur State .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,773

The following is the percentage figures of various Hindu groups in each district:⁷³

<i>District</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Hindu Tribal</i>	<i>Hindu Cooly</i>	<i>Hindu Exterior</i>	<i>Other Hindus</i>
Goalpara	822,748	8.5	4.5	1.8	28.8
Kamrup	976,746	13.1	2.5	4.4	52.7
Darrang	534,817	8.9	31.8	2.8	34.5
Nowgong	562,581	10.5	7.3	8.4	31.8
Sibsagar	933,326	6.0	33.8	4.0	46.4
Lakhimpur	724,582	9.5	48.9	3.3	29.6
Balipara Frontier Tract	5,148	25.0	16.0	..	33.0
Sadiya Frontier Tract	53,345	10.4	6.6	1.7	30.1
Garohills	190,911	7.4	..	..	7.3
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	289,926	..	..	..	9.1
Nagahills	178,844	..	..	..	3.6
North Cachar Hills	32,844	73.1	Hindu cooly and others 6.0		
Lushai Hills	124,404	..	..	..	3.2
Syhet	2,724,342	1.1	7.0	14.4	18.4
Cachar Plains	537,687	9.4	29.5	14.9	8.4

The Hindu community of Assam is composed of castes and exterior castes. The depressed class belongs to the exterior castes. The numerical strength of the depressed class is 183,000 in the Assam Valley and 472,000 at a minimum in the Surma Valley or 657,000 in the whole Province.⁷⁴ It may also be mentioned that "Coolies in Assam form a separate class of population by themselves no matter what caste or tribe they belong to; for, all have one common characteristic and that is, in Assam a "Cooly" is always a "Cooly" and whether he

works on a garden or whether he has left the garden and settled down as an ordinary ~~peasant~~. His social position is nil. From the point of view of Assamese society a person belonging to any cooly caste or tribe is a complete outsider. Indeed from many points of view the social position of coolies and ex-coolies is worse than any class in the Province.”⁷⁵

Muslims

Muslims constitute 30 per cent of the total population of Assam or 31·9 per cent of the population of the British territory of the Province.⁷⁶ This increase is due principally to the continued Muslim influx of the Mymensinghia immigrants into the Brahmaputra Valley affecting the districts of Nowgong, Kamrup and Darrang.⁷⁷ The Sibsagar and Lakhimpur Districts in the Assam Valley have remained practically untouched by Muslim immigrants.⁷⁸ Muslims form one-fifth of the entire population of the Assam Valley.⁷⁹ In Sylhet and the Cachar Plains of the Surma Valley Muslims are 58·9 and 36·4 per cent of the population respectively.⁸⁰ Hindus are 40·9 per cent of the Sylhet district population.⁸¹ The numerical strength of Muslims by natural divisions and districts is given below:⁸²

I

[illegible]

II

<i>District and Natural Division</i>								<i>Number per 10,000 of the popu- lation who are Mus- lim</i>
Assam	..	..	.	..	..	.	..	3,007
Brahmaputra Valley	..		.	..	..	..	..	1,999
Goalpara	..	..	..	.	..	..	.	4,392
Kamrup	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,461
Darrang	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	1,154
Nowgong	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,160
Sibsagar	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	471
Lukhimpur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	358
Sadiya	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	151
Balipara	..	..	.	.	..	.	.	140
Surma Valley	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	5,517
Cachar Plains	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,641
Sylhet	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,897
Hills	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	292
Garo Hills	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	526
North Cachar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	137
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	90
Naga Hills	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	39
Lushai Hills	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
Manipur State	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	513

The Muslim percentage in each district is tabled below:⁸³

<i>District</i>								<i>Muslim percentage</i>
Goalpara	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	43·9
Kamrup	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	24·6
Darrang	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11·5
Nowgong	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	31·6
Balipara Frontier Tract	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sadiya Frontier Tract	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1·5
Garo Hills	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5·3
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Naga Hills	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0·7
								(with others)
North Cachar Hills	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lushai Hills	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sylhet	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	58·9
Cachar Plains	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	36·4

Nearly all Muslims in Assam belong to the Sunni sect; Shias are 434 only.⁸⁴ It may be observed in this connection that the relations between the Hindu and Muslim communities have been strained due to factors of economic exploitation on the part of both communities. The continued Muslim influx of the Mymensinghia immigrants into the Brahmaputra Valley has resulted in the clash of economic interests between Hindus and Muslims and the economic domination of Hindu money-lenders and landlords is being realized by Muslims.⁸⁵

Primitive Tribes

The total population of the primitive tribes in the Province is 992,390.⁸⁶ They are, in fact, the real indigenous people of Assam who follow their own faith

though Hindus and Christians are propagating their faiths in order to bring the tribes within their fold. Hindus more than Christians have been successful in showing them the 'light'; but how far Hinduism and Christianity will be able to knock out completely the tribal characteristics from the converted tribes is a question that awaits judgment of social history. But the tribal evidence shows that despite their 'conversion' to other faiths their tribal instincts, feelings and features have remained intact. These religions, on the other hand, infuse a spirit of hatred and develop a sense of 'superiority' complex in the converted tribes with the result that they become neither a true specimen of Hinduism nor of Christianity. The hybrid culture of the tribal Hindus and Christians can never disrupt the indigenous culture of the tribes, but will be responsible for creating hindrance in the harmonious development of their culture along modern lines in the future. Religion alone does not civilize a man in modern world; but there are other sociological factors that account for his cultural making. In religionizing the tribes Hinduism and Christianity will do them more disservice than service. Both religions have made them more caste-ridden. Hinduism has not absorbed them as a people but has taken them out of their fold in order to dub them as outcaste. The Hindu sabhas which are active in proselytization are themselves caste-principled. To form a casteless society is beyond their scope of activity. To leave the tribes to react to the socializing forces of modern time is to do them a real good service than to hinduize or christianize for the sake of swelling the Hindu or Christian numbers for the purpose of gaining political end.

The numerical strength of the tribes by natural divisions and districts is given below:⁸⁷

I

<i>Natural Division</i>							<i>Tribal Population</i>
Assam..	..	..	..	..	..	..	992,390
Brahmaputra Valley	..	..	..	..	..	..	277,440
Surma Valley..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9,169
Hills ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	705,781

II

Number per 10,000 of the population who are

<i>Natural Division and District</i>							<i>Tribal Population</i>
Assam..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,073
Brahmaputra Valley..	..	..	..	..	..	..	581
Goalpara	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,013
Kamrup	..	..	..	..	..	..	200
Darrang	..	..	..	..	..	..	759
Nowgong	..	..	..	..	..	..	944
Sibsagar	..	..	..	..	..	..	343
Lakhimpur	..	..	..	..	..	..	204
Sadiya	..	..	..	..	..	..	4,403
Balipara	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,579
Surma Valley..	..	..	..	..	..	..	28
Cachar Plains	..	..	..	..	..	..	101
Sylhet	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
Hills ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,590
Garo Hills	..	..	..	..	..	..	7,161
North Cachar	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,493
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	..	..	..	..	..	..	6,930
Naga Hills	..	..	..	..	..	..	8,291
Lushai Hills	..	..	..	..	..	..	4,835
Manipur State	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,474

The percentage of the tribes by districts is tabled below:⁸⁸

<i>District</i>							<i>Tribal percentage</i>
Goalpara	..	..	..	..	..	..	10·2
Kamrup	..	..	..	..	..	..	2·0
Darrang	..	..	..	..	..	..	7·6
Nowgong	..	..	..	..	..	..	9·4
Balipara Frontier Tract	..	..	..	..	..	..	26·0 (with others)
Sadiya Frontier Tract	..	..	..	..	..	..	44·0
Garó Hills	..	..	..	..	..	..	71·6
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	..	..	..	..	..	..	69·3
Naga Hills	..	..	..	..	..	..	82·9
North Cachar Hills	..	..	..	..	..	..	14·9
Lushai Hills	..	..	..	..	..	..	48·4
Sylhet	..	..	..	..	..	..	0·1
Cachar Plains	..	..	..	..	..	..	1·0
Manipur State	..	..	..	..	..	..	34·8

Christians

The total provincial population of Christians is 249,246.⁸⁹ Their stronghold is in the Hills, especially in the Lushai Hills.⁹⁰ The distribution of the Christian population by natural divisions is given below:⁹¹

<i>Natural Division</i>							<i>Christian population</i>
Assam	..	..	..	..	..	..	249,246
Brahmaputra Valley	..	..	..	..	..	..	73,704
Surma Valley	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,617
Hills	..	..	..	..	..	..	169,925

The percentage of Christians by districts is as follows:⁹²

<i>District</i>							<i>Tribal Christian percentage</i>
Goalpara	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kamrup	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Darrang	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nowgong	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Balipara Frontier Tract	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sadiya Frontier Tract	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Garó Hills	..	..	..	..	..	..	8·4
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	..	..	..	..	..	..	20·4
Naga Hills	..	..	..	..	..	..	12·8
North Cachar Hills	..	..	..	..	..	..	6·0
Lushai Hills	..	..	..	..	..	..	47·5
Sylhet	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cachar Plains	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Manipur State	..	..	..	..	..	..	3·48

Buddhists

The Buddhist community is a small community in Assam. The total strength of Buddhists is 15,045.⁹³ In the Brahmaputra Valley their concentration is strongest (13,554).⁹⁴ In the Hills they number 1,410 and in the Surma Valley only 81.⁹⁵

Others

Jains are 2,803 and they come from Rajputana or Western India and are by profession traders.⁹⁶ Sikhs number 2,729 and are generally skilled workmen and are found in largest numbers in the most advanced districts of the Province.⁹⁷ There are other miscellaneous religious groups comprising Confucian, Jew and Zoroastrian all totalling 480 persons who are chiefly found in the Naga Hills.⁹⁸

Literacy

The number of literates in Assam amounts to 697,498 or their proportion of literacy is 9·1 per cent;

but the proportion of literacy by natural divisions is 11 per cent in the Surma Valley; 8·5 per cent in the Assam Valley; 6·2 per cent in the Hills.⁹⁹ In the districts it varies between 2·2 (Naga Hills) and 12·9 (Lushai Hills) per cent.¹⁰⁰ The above figures of proportionate literacy by Province, natural divisions and districts are based on 5 years of age and over; but the proportion of literacy is highest in almost all districts in the age-group 15-20. The following table illustrates the point.¹⁰¹

<i>Age-Group</i>	<i>Literate per mille</i>
5-10	63
10-15	113
15-20	189
20 and over	179

Literacy by religion also varies between communities. The microscopic communities are most literate. The figures of literates per mille aged 5 and over both sexes by religion are tabled below:¹⁰²

Literacy by Religion

<i>Religion</i>	<i>Number of literates per mille aged 5 and over</i>	
	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
All religions	152	23
Hindu	186	25
Muslim	115	16
Christian	277	114
Indian Christian	259	105
Other Christian	963	939
Tribal religions	31	4
Buddhist	201	8
Other religions (including Brahmo, Jain and Sikh)	598	148

Brahmos, Jains and Sikhs are far ahead of any other community in the matter of literacy.¹⁰³ Christians come next in order of merit and Buddhists (a very small community) rank above Hindus.¹⁰⁴ Literacy by caste shows the influence of the political and economic strength of the caste-groups in the public life of Assam. Baidyas and Brahmans as caste-groups outrace all other Hindu castes in point of literacy.¹⁰⁵ Among Baidyas there are 86·8 per cent of male literates and 65·9 per cent of female literates of the age of 7 and upwards.¹⁰⁶ In the age of 7 and over the Brahman percentage is 72·1 per males and 19·4 for females.¹⁰⁷ The Khasi Christians are 42·1 per cent (males) and 31·5 per cent (females) literate; but the Lushai Christians have 38·3 per cent and 5·3 per cent literacy in males and females respectively.¹⁰⁸ The male literacy in the non-Christian Khasis and Lushais is 6·5 per cent and 14·5 per cent respectively.¹⁰⁹ Among Ahoms the male literacy over age of 7 is 24·6 per cent and the female literacy 1·4 per cent.¹¹⁰ Banias (Bittial-Banias) of the Assam Valley are ahead of the Ahom literacy.¹¹¹ The male literacy of Namasudras, an "exterior caste," of the Surma Valley and the Kacharis is 10 and 6·2 per cent respectively.¹¹² The male literacy of Brahmans is ten times more than that of the depressed classes.¹¹³

Literacy by English in Assam is 22 males per mille aged 5 and over.¹¹⁴ The actual number of literates is 89,389.¹¹⁵ Among Indian Christians there are 25 per mille literate in English; Hindus have 14 to 16 and Muslims 6 to 7 literates in English.¹¹⁶ The following is the general table of literacy by caste and by English:¹¹⁷

<i>Caste or Race</i>				<i>Number per mille aged 7 and over who are literate</i>	<i>Number per 10,000 aged 7 and over who are literate in English</i>
Ahom (Hindu)	..	..	..	136	241
Baidya (Hindu)	..	..	..	772	3,104
Brahman (Hindu)	..	..	..	489	1,132
Brittial Bania (Hindu)	..	..	..	197	275
Garó (Tribal)	..	..	..	6	4
Kachari (Hindu)	..	..	..	41	57
Kachari (Tribal)	..	..	..	33	28
Khasi (Tribal)	..	..	..	42	41
Khasi (Christian)	..	..	..	365	473
Lushai (Tribal)	..	..	..	74	18
Lushai (Christian)	..	..	..	198	138
Manipuri (Hindu)	..	..	..	54	62
Mikir (Tribal)	..	..	..	7	3
Nadiyal (Kaibartta) (Hindu)	..	..	..	105	104
Namasudra (Hindu)	..	..	..	55	15
Tanti (Hindu)	..	..	..	21	9
Yogi (Hindu)	..	..	..	153	60

Languages

Assam seems to be a most complicated polyglot. If the indigenous population of a country is a linguistic determinant then the language problem of Assam is not intricate. Though it is like a Babel, many languages spoken in Assam cannot have any justification for their existence on the Assamese national basis. The influx of population from East Bengal due to economic factors has been responsible for creating rivalry between Assamese and Bengali. In deciding the issue of language, the question has to be answered whether the recognition of a non-provincial language or languages

in Assam is justified and how far the non-provincial 'settlers' have a right to claim recognition to their 'languages' from the Province. It goes without saying that the non-provincials are free to speak their own languages; but they have no 'legal' right to lower the 'status' of a provincial language or disrupt it.

The provincial language is the language, natural or adopted, of all the people irrespective of provincials and non-provincials. In the light of this argument the linguistic problem of Assam gives a hopeful picture of the solution of language complications. In other words, Assam loses the complications of its polyglot and can assign justifiable position to languages that are of the Province.

It is stated that there are over 60 languages spoken in Assam.¹¹⁸ Practically all these languages fall into one of the four great families—(1) The Austric (2) the Tibeto-Chinese (3) the Dravidian and (4) the Indo-European.¹¹⁹ The number of speakers of each of the four great families of languages per 1,000 of the population is calculated thus:¹²⁰

<i>Family</i>							<i>Number per mille of speakers</i>
Austric	..	..	..	..	..	..	60
Tibeto-Chinese	..	..	..	..	..	..	176
Dravidian	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
Indo-European	..	..	..	..	..	..	749

This means that only 17·6 per cent of the speakers belong to the Tibeto-Chinese languages and nearly 75 per cent of the population of Assam speaks the Indo-Aryan languages.

The Austro-Asiatic sub-family of the Austric language family has two branches—the Mon-Khmer and the Munda, both of which are found in the Province.¹²¹ Of the Mon-Khmer branch (including Synteng) Khasi is the only representative in Assam and forms a separate group or kind of island of speech in the centre of the Province surrounded by on all sides by speakers of other families of languages.¹²² The actual number of its speakers is 234,000 and it has a literature of its own.¹²³ Of the Munda branch there are 321,000 speakers of whom 159,000 speak Mundari and 102,000 Santali; the remainder speak Savara, Kurku, Kharia and other dialects.¹²⁴ The Munda branch is composed of dialects with their tribal colouring and all coolies and ex-coolies speak these dialects except the Santali settlers in Goalpara.¹²⁵

The Tibeto-Chinese languages family has its myriad offshoots and is spoken by only a small number of people in the Province.¹²⁶ This family of languages has a total number of 1,628,000 speakers or 17·6 per cent of the entire population speak it.¹²⁷ Of the Tibeto-Chinese language family only two languages of the sub-branch Taichinese—Khamti and Shan (including Aitonia and Phakia) are spoken by 6,000 persons in Sibsagar, Lakhimpur and the Sadiya Frontier Tract.¹²⁸ The other sub-family of the Tibeto-Chinese is the Tibeto-Burman which has numerous branches and the total number of speakers of the Tibeto-Burman is 1,662,000.¹²⁹ All the branches of this sub-family are again divided into sub-branches forming their own peculiar dialects. The Tibeto-Himalayan Branch with all dialects has 7,000 speakers; the North Assam Branch with all dialects 99,000 speakers, the Assam-Burmese with all dialects 531,000 speakers.¹³⁰

Practically all the languages of the Tibeto-Chinese family are spoken by the population of the Hills in their multi-form dialects or groups or sub-groups. These are the mothertongues of the Tribes who have given their own stamp on dialects. To recognize the Tibeto-Chinese language family as an uniform language of the Hills is beyond human expectations. They will grow or die with the general change in the life of the tribes. To form these dialects into a language will be the task for the tribes alone in the future upbuilding of Assam; but whether or not they can solve such a linguistic riddle rests with the future. If they fail to do so their tribal dialects are bound to perish and they will have to adopt the provincial language.

It is authoritatively asserted that "the indigenous Hill languages are as vigorous as ever and show no signs of erosion."¹³¹ But the fate of these 'languages' in the Province will primarily depend on their synthesizing force rather than their own vigour in the forms of dialects.

The largest number of speakers in the Indo-European family belongs to the Eastern group of the outer sub-branch of the Indo-Aryan branch.¹³² This group, which consists of Bengali, Assamese, Oriya and Bihari, comprises 6,164,000 speakers or 66·7 per cent of the total population of Assam.¹³³

Bengali is assuming great importance in Assam. Is it an indigenous language of Assam or an intruder? The answer to the question is that due to the continued influx of population under economic pressure from the East Bengal districts "Bengali has intruded into the Assamese border and is putting up a tough fight for its existence".¹³⁴ The total number of Bengali speakers is

3,966,000.¹³⁵ The largest number of Bengali speakers (2,848,000) is in Sylhet and Cachar and 1,086,000 speakers in the Assam Valley (excluding the Frontier Tracts).¹³⁶ The figures of Bengali in Sibsagar and Lakhimpur are far too high and the number of Bengali speakers is on the upward curve in Kamrup and Nowgong due to the continual incoming of East Bengal immigrants and to the natural increase of the previous immigrants.¹³⁷ Bengali has made enormous headway in the Assam Valley because the three lower districts—Goalpara, Kamrup and Nowgong—there are 840,000 Bengali speakers.¹³⁸

It may be observed in this connection that Bengali as a pure Bengali language as it is spoken in Bengal is not spoken even in those areas of Assam where it has come to stay. It is only a *patois*. In determining the true colour of Bengali in the 'Bengali' districts of Assam it is authoritatively asserted "that so long as we attempt to work on a basis of 'Assamese' and 'Bengali' the language statistics of Goalpara District will be worthless. The plain fact is that the people of Goalpara District all speak Goalpari. At the Bengal end they speak it with a tinge of Bengali; at the Assam end with a tinge of Assamese and in the middle with a tinge of both."¹³⁹ This point is further elucidated thus: "The Assamese is hardly spoken at all in Dhubri, Golakganj, Gossaingaon, South Salmara and Mankachar thanas which are all thanas at the Bengal end of the district; that in thanas of Goalpara, Dudnai, North Salmara and Bijni which are all thanas along the Kamrup (or Assam) border of the district, Assamese is spoken more than Bengali and that in the middle of the district—in thanas Bilasipara, Kokrajhar and Lakhimpur—Assamese and Bengali are both spoken but Bengali predominates. Kokrajhar and Bilasipara thanas contain

the main block of speakers of Tibeto-Burmese languages, there being over 40,000 speakers of these languages in each of these thanas. It appears, therefore, that the true boundary of Assam from a linguistic point would be a line drawn from north to south almost exactly half way in the middle of the Goalpara District."¹⁴⁰

Assamese is the one of the indigenous languages of the Province. The actual number of its speakers is 1,995,000 and spoken almost entirely in the Assam Valley.¹⁴¹ Though Bengali as a *patois* is spoken in the Assam Valley, Assamese as a language is in no danger of supersession and that the Assamese are determined to preserve their national tongue.¹⁴² In the Assam Valley, Darrang has the highest Assamese percentage (42) followed by Kamrup (34) and Lakhimpur (32).¹⁴³ Sibsagar has 25 per cent and Nowgong 11 per cent of Assamese.¹⁴⁴ The only people in Assam who are bilingual to any extent are the speakers of Tibeto-Burmese languages in Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang, Sibsagar and Nowgong and that except in Goalpara (where two-thirds of the Tibeto-Burmese speakers have Assamese and one-third Bengali as their language) the only subsidiary language which they can speak fluently is Assamese.¹⁴⁵ But there are very few Assamese, except in Goalpara, who are bilingualists.¹⁴⁶ Only the educated among them, who have studied Bengali, can speak Bengali.¹⁴⁷

Oriya is spoken by 203,000 persons in Assam.¹⁴⁸ It is the language of the vast majority of coolies and ex-coolies.¹⁴⁹

Bihari or Eastern Hindi

It is remarked that "it is impossible in Assam to draw a line between Bihari and Eastern and Western

Hindi.¹⁵⁰ The vast majority of the garden coolies in Assam coming from Bihar, Orissa and the Central Provinces, who may be said to speak 'Hindustani' speak some form of Bihari or some dialect of Bihari or Eastern Hindi.¹⁵¹ Their total numerical strength is 590,000.¹⁵² In the Surma Valley and the Hills the figures of Hindi speakers are 223,000 but there are in Lakhimpur (53,000); Sibsagar (43,000) and Darrang (15,000).¹⁵³

Other Minor Languages

The following table shows the numerical strength of each language:¹⁵⁴

<i>Language</i>	<i>Number of speakers</i>
Punjabi	3,587
Gujrati	2,035
Rajasthani	16,000
Naipali (Khas-Kura)	136,000
Pashto and Balochi	2,500
Persian	268

These languages are foreign to the Province and chiefly spoken by immigrants. Their range of influence is restricted to the speakers of these languages. Their linguistic importance for the Province is nil.

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CHAPTER EIGHTH

THE CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR

Area

The area of the Central Provinces and Berar is 131,095 square miles, of which the Central Provinces British districts occupy 82,153 square miles, Berar 17,767 square miles and the 15 States 31,175 square miles.¹ It may be observed in this connection that the Government has reserved a forest area of 20,150 square miles out of the whole provincial area and it is still uncultivated.²

Natural Divisions

The whole country, of the Central Provinces and Berar is divided into five natural divisions: (1) The Nerbudda Valley; (2) The Maratha Plain; (3) The Plateau; (4) The Chhattisgarh Plain and (5) The Chota Nagpur Plateau.³

The Nerbudda Valley, mainly a wheat growing tract, is situated in the basin formed by the river and extends into the higher elevation on either side.⁴ The Maratha Plain includes to the west the valleys of the Purna and the Wardha rivers and the plain of Berar and Nagpur which has the rich black soil that makes the area the great cotton-growing tract of the Province and further eastwards it possesses a heavier rainfall and is mainly a rice-growing tract.⁵ The Plateau, covering the greater of the plateau of the Satputra Hills, is a forest country.⁶

The Chhattisgarh Plain is a great rice-growing plain, drained by the Mahanadi river and on the north, east and south it is bordered by hill ranges which are covered with

dense forests.⁷ The Chota Nagpur Plateau is the home of hill and forest tribes, many of them with Munda affinities are physically and ethnically in several ways more akin to their eastern neighbours in Orissa than to those in the Plain of Chhattisgarh.⁸

Administrative Divisions

The Central Provinces and Berar have four administrative divisions: (1) Jubbulpore; (2) Chhattisgarh; (3) Nagpur and (4) Berar.⁹ The four administrative divisions have their districts as follows:¹⁰

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Jubbulpore Division | 3. Nagpur Division |
| <i>District</i> | <i>District</i> |
| Jubbulpore | Nagpur |
| Suagor (with Damoh) | Wardha |
| Hoshangabad (with Narsinghpur) | Chanda |
| Mandla | Chhindwara (with Seoni) |
| Nimar | Betul |
| 2. Chhattisgarh Division | 4. Berar Division |
| <i>District</i> | <i>District</i> |
| Raipur | Amraoti |
| Bilaspur | Akola |
| Drug | Buldana |
| Bhandara | Yeotmal |
| Balaghat | |

Population and Density

The total provincial population is 17,990,937, of which the Central Provinces British districts have 12,065,885; Berar 3,441,838 and States 2,483,214.¹¹ It is considerably greater than that found in America or Australia; but does not approach that obtaining in the more populous parts of India or in some other oriental countries such as Japan.¹² The density of the Central Provinces is 13·8.¹³ The following is a comparative table of area, population and density of other countries and the Provinces of India.¹⁴

Other Countries				Provinces of India					
Country	Area	Population	Density	Province	Area	Population	Density		
Argentina	..	1,132,000	10,500,000	8	Burma	..	233,492	14,667,146	63
Mexico	..	769,000	16,400,000	21	Bombay	..	187,115	30,398,247	162
Egypt	..	363,000	14,000,000	38	Madras	..	143,870	47,193,602	328
Japan	..	260,800	84,000,000	321	Punjab	..	136,726	28,490,857	208
France	..	213,000	41,000,000	192	Baluchistan	..	124,638	868,617	6
Spain	..	196,700	21,763,000	110	Central Provinces	..	131,095	17,990,937	138
Germany	..	182,000	63,000,000	348	United Provinces	..	112,191	49,641,833	442
Newfoundland	..	162,750	276,000	2	Bengal	..	82,955	51,087,338	623
Finland	..	150,000	3,640,000	24	Assam	..	67,334	9,247,857	137
Iraq	..	150,000	3,000,000	20					
Norway	..	125,000	2,810,000	22					
Italy	..	120,000	43,000,000	358					
New Zealand	..	105,000	1,461,000	13					
Great Britain	..	88,000	44,790,000	509					

The area, population and density of the provincial natural divisions are tabled below:¹⁵

<i>Division</i>					<i>Area</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Density</i>
Nagpur	..	..	..	..	27,306	3,589,266	131
Jubbulpore	..	..	..	..	25,747	3,344,776	130
Chhattisgarh	..	..	..	..	29,096	5,131,843	176
Berar	..	..	..	..	17,789	3,441,838	134

Of the twenty-two districts Raipur is the biggest and has an area of 9,717 square miles and holds the largest population (1,527,573); but the most densely populated is the Nagpur District with an area of 3,834 square miles and a population of 940,049.¹⁶ The average area of the districts is 5,259 square miles and their average population 816,196.¹⁷

Urban Population

The urban population of the Province is 1,754,611.¹⁸ It is spread over 122 towns.¹⁹ In other words, 98 persons per mille are urban.²⁰ This means that the progress of urbanization in the Province has been extremely slow.²¹ All the four Provinces, which border on the Central Provinces, have a considerably higher proportion of urban population.²² A large number of towns and a bigger proportion of urban population than elsewhere are in the cotton-growing districts.²³ That is to say in the Nerbudda Valley Division there are 24 towns; in the Plateau Division 7 towns; in the Maratha Plain Division 73 towns; in the Chhattisgarh Plain Division 18 towns; in the Chota Nagpur Division nil.²⁴ In other words the percentage of urban population by natural divisions is as follows:²⁵

<i>Natural Division</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Maratha Plain	15.0
Nerbudda Valley	14.5
Central Provinces and Berar Plateau	9.8
Chhattisgarh Plain	4.0
Chota Nagpur Plateau	3.9
	..

The growth of population has been greatest in towns of between 20,000 and 50,000 inhabitants.²⁶ Of 16 such towns, eight lie in the Maratha Plain Division and six in the Nerbudda Valley Division.²⁷ The second highest increase in towns is between 10,000 and 20,000 inhabitants of which there are 35.²⁸ Towns having a population between 5,000 and 10,000 are 58 in number; but those below 5,000 inhabitants are 35.²⁹ The country or market towns are losing the importance on account of their absorption into the larger industrial towns.³⁰ Towns having a population of 100,000 and over are only two in number.³¹

The proportion to total urban population by classes of towns is given below:³²

<i>Class of Towns</i>	<i>Proportion to total urban population</i>
100,000 and over	18
50,000 to 100,000 .. .. .	..
20,000 to 50,000	29
10,000 to 20,000	27
5,000 to 10,000	24
Under 500	2

The distribution of urban population by religion reveals that the minor religions are proportionately more numerous in urban areas than in rural ones. The following tables elucidate the point:³³

I. Natural Division	Number per 10,000 of urban population who are				
	Hindu	Tribal	Muslim	Christian	Others
Central Provinces and Berar	7,815	50	1,787	175	173
Nerbudda Valley ..	7,127	38	2,269	277	279
Plateau	7,771	250	1,628	164	187
Maratha Plain ..	7,695	33	1,748	115	139
Chhattisgarh Plain ..	8,450	85	1,054	281	128
Chota Nagpur Plateau ..	..	..	..	..	..

II. Natural Division	Total Population	Number per mille who live in towns				
		Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Jain	Zoroastrian
Central Provinces and Berar	98	91	444	301	324	936
Nerbudda Valley	145	120	559	663	265	896
Plateau ..	40	53	228	380	216	583
Maratha Plain	150	134	445	735	402	966
Chhattisgarh Plain ..	39	38	375	354	422	969
Chota Nagpur Plateau ..	..	..	..	..	..	..

The proportion of tribal religions is negligible.³⁴ Less than half the Muslims reside in towns, with the highest proportion in the Nerbudda Valley Division.³⁵ The provincial proportion for Christians is greatly reduced by the Oraons who after conversion have continued to follow their traditional occupation of agriculture but in the Maratha Plain Division no less than 73·5 per cent Christians are townfolk.³⁶ Nearly all Zoroastrians live in urban areas.³⁷

Rural Population

The Province is essentially a rural country.³⁸ In other words it is a land of small villages.³⁹ Its rural population is 16,236,326⁴⁰ and distributed over 48,722 villages.⁴¹ The percentage is 90.2.⁴² The distribution of rural population by natural divisions is as follows:⁴³

Number per mille of rural population residing in villages with a population of

<i>Natural Division</i>	5,000 and over	2,000 to 5,000	500 to 2,000	Under 500
Central Provinces and Berar ..	5	67	438	490
Nerbudda Valley .. ..	..	52	392	556
Plateau .. .. .	..	47	351	602
Maratha Plain	12	111	532	345
Chhattisgarh Plain	2	37	403	558
Chota Nagpur Plateau .. ..	..	13	408	570

The average population of a village is 333; but in the Nerbudda Valley Division it is 279; in the Plateau Division 257; in the Maratha Plain Division 440; in the Chhattisgarh Plain Division 312; in the Chota Nagpur Division 300.⁴⁴

The distribution of rural population by religion in natural divisions is tabled below:⁴⁵

<i>Natural Division</i>	<i>Number per 10,000 of rural population who are</i>				
	<i>Hindu</i>	<i>Tribal</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Christian</i>	<i>Others</i>
Central Provinces and Berar	8,472	1,207	242	44	35
Nerbudda Valley	8,834	724	302	24	116
Plateau	5,851	3,877	233	11	28
Maratha Plain	9,051	527	384	7	31
Chhattisgarh Plain	8,701	1,200	71	21	7
Chota Nagpur Plateau	7,413	1,936	113	537	1

Occupational Distribution

In the occupational distribution of population there are 7,550,262 earners and 1,951,169 working dependents or 42·0 per cent of the total population are earners and 10·8 per cent working dependents.⁴⁶ The following table shows the total strength of workers (earners and working dependents) in each occupation:⁴⁷

<i>Occupation (by sub-class)</i>	<i>Number of earners and working dependents</i>	<i>Proportion of earners and working dependents in each occupation per 1,000</i>	<i>Proportion of persons supported in each occupation per 10,000 of population</i>
Exploitation of animals and vegetation ..	7,746,124	815	776
Exploitation of minerals	22,553	2	2
Industry	734,645	77	92
Transport	104,365	11	11
Trade	359,862	38	44
Public force	44,772	5	5·6
Public administration ..	44,378	5	8
Professions and liberal arts	81,470	9	12
Persons living on their own income	5,498	1	0·4
Domestic service	103,310	11	14
Insufficiently-described occupations	178,895	19	26
Unproductive	65,559	7	9

The ratio per 1,000 of earners (principal occupation) of earners having a subsidiary occupation is given below:⁴⁸

Exploitation of animals and vegetation	44
Exploitation of minerals .. ..	..
Industry	14
Transport	2

Trade	12
Public force	1
Public administration	1
Professions and liberal arts	2
Persons living on their own income .. .. .	..
Domestic service	1
Insufficiently-described occupations	2
Unproductive	1

In every 1,000 persons in the Central Provinces and Berar 33 have some form of subsidiary occupation.⁴⁹ The subsidiary occupations most widely followed are those falling in the exploitation of animals and vegetation.⁵⁰

It may be of interest to learn the general distribution of workers in each occupation by natural divisions:⁵¹

Proportion of workers in each occupation per 1,000 of total population

<i>Occupation (by sub-class)</i>	<i>Central Provinces and Berar</i>	<i>Nerbudda Valley</i>	<i>Maratha Plain</i>	<i>Plateau</i>	<i>Chhattisgarh Plain</i>	<i>Chota Nagpur Plateau</i>
Exploitation of animals and vegetation	815	724	786	852	878	874
Exploitation of minerals	2	1	4	4	..	..
Industry	77	108	92	53	52	69
Transport	11	20	10	12	8	2
Trade	38	65	39	42	24	22
Public force	5	8	4	8	3	2
Public administration	5	7	6	4	2	4
Professions and liberal arts	9	12	11	7	5	4
Persons living on their own income	1	1	1	1	..	..
Domestic service	11	21	10	8	11	7
Insufficiently-described occupations	19	23	29	4	10	11
Unproductive	7	10	8	5	7	5

The occupational distribution of actual workers per mille of earning population in urban areas is tabled below:⁵²

<i>Occupation (by sub-class)</i>				<i>Central Pro- vinces and Cities Berar</i>	
Exploitation of animals and vegetation	..			815	53
Industries including mines	..	..	..	80	367
Commerce and transport	..	..	..	49	207
Professions and arts	..	..	..	9	38
Others	..	..	..	47	335

Agriculture

The population of the Central Provinces and Berar is predominantly agricultural. Under pasture and agriculture, cultivation as an occupation has 7,395,618 principal earners and working dependents and 318,029 subsidiary earners.⁵³ The largest proportion of working dependents (29·4%) is engaged in the exploitation of animals and vegetation.⁵⁴ The great majority of agriculturists everywhere is employed in ordinary cultivation.⁵⁵ The strength of the non-cultivating owners is 0·8 per cent of the total population engaged in cultivation.⁵⁶ The distribution of the agricultural population by each group and by natural divisions is tabled below:⁵⁷

<i>Natural Division</i>	<i>Proportion per mille of the agricultural population</i>			
	<i>Non-cultivating Owners</i>	<i>Cultivating Owners</i>	<i>Cultivating Tenants</i>	<i>Agricultural Labourers</i>
Nerbudda Valley ..	12	383	5	600
Plateau	8	406	14	572
Maratha Plain .. .	11	309	23	657
Chhattisgarh Plain ..	2	655	19	324
Chota Nagpur Plateau..	10	741	64	185

Pasturage and cognate occupations employ 268,962 principal earners and working dependents, while fishing and hunting 65,016 workers.⁵⁸

Exploitation of Minerals

The metallic and non-metallic resources of the Province are gold, iron, manganese, coal, stone, salt, saltpetre, saline substances etc: There are 22,553 principal earners and working dependents and 1,992 subsidiary earners are engaged in the exploitation of minerals in the Province.⁵⁹

Industry

There are 20 groups of industry in the Province.⁶⁰ The following is the strength of workers engaged in different industrial lines:⁶¹

	<i>Working Population</i>	
	<i>Principal earners and working dependents</i>	<i>Total following subsidiary occupations</i>
INDUSTRY (by order)	735,645	102,215
Textiles	208,683	22,024
Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom	19,014	1,872
Wood	87,034	15,815
Metals	53,649	6,616
Ceramics	47,525	6,056
Chemical products properly so called and analogous	18,405	4,459
Food industries .. .	75,113	10,805
Industries of dress and toilet ..	142,948	24,729
Furniture industries	3,099	1,586
Building industries	29,596	3,445
Construction of means of transport	736	82
Production and transmission of physical force	444	9
Miscellaneous and undefined industries	49,419	4,717

The large-scale industry is the general tendency of the urban Province. As it is a predominantly agri-

cultural country the large-scale industrial activity is a move that runs counter to the economic conditions of the Province. It is more in the fitness of things to industrialize the country on the basis of a small-scale industry. This is the way the Province will be in a position to industrialize its agricultural pursuits and thus agriculture in its turn will sustain industry. The agricultural basis is essential for the industrial development of the Province. The general industrialization of the country can materialize on a small-scale industry. What is happening in the Central Provinces and Berar is that the large-scale industrial organization and activity has assumed artificial forms in urban areas. To bring about a natural blossoming of industrial life, it is necessary that industrial centres should be in rural areas. It is the need of the hour to reset the whole industrial thinking and planning of the Province to the agricultural background in order to re-establish the contact of industry with agriculture. As agriculture is the feeding base of industry, the approximation of industrial and agricultural activities is a desideratum. It is a fact that industrialization as a disintegrating factor of rural population creates an economic problem without any feasible solution. The shifting of rural population into industrial areas without its absorption by industrial classes is a grave problem that adversely affects the development and progress of industry and agriculture. To strike a balance it is but necessary to give a rural colouring to the process of industrialization in the Province. It should go deep in the villages. The industrial drive to drag villages into urbanized areas is to destroy the prosperity of the whole country for the sake of the economic development of few cities. If industry is to work for the economic betterment and up-

lift of the province, it has to seek its economic equilibrium in the vast rural areas. Hence the ruralization of industry is most called for as the Province is a rural country.

Transport

Transport has 104,365 principal earners and working dependents and 17,249 subsidiary earners.⁶² It is an undeniable fact that the general progress of a country invariably depends upon its means of transport as it is a powerful instrument of establishing contacts between areas and areas, people and people. In the Central Provinces and Berar transport is bound to play, as it is playing on a very small scale, an important rôle in minimizing distances between rural areas which are to-day cut off from the world of activity and thought. This can only happen, if the Province ruralizes its industry; otherwise transport will always serve industry as its handmaid. The present-day transport facilities meet the industrial needs of the Province; but transport has not functioned as a factor of inter-communication and inter-linkage between rural areas. This can only come to pass, if the centre of industrial gravity is in rural areas. In this way the rural Province will be greatly affected by its means of transport as a medium of communication and civilizing tendencies. The agricultural activity wedded with the industrial one can be transformed into a powerful economic activity by transport.

Trade

In the occupation of trade there are 359,862 principal earners and working dependents plus 89,217 subsidiary earners.⁶³ The following is the strength of workers in all categories of trade:⁶⁴

<i>Trade (by order)</i>	<i>Working Proportion</i>	
	<i>Principal earners and working dependents</i>	<i>Total following subsidiary occupations</i>
Banks, establishments, credit, exchange and insurance	21,991	8,668
Brokerage, commission and export	3,401	673
Trade in textiles	24,942	5,491
Trade in skins, leathers and furs ..	2,838	450
Trade in wood	19,511	9,315
Trade in metals	1,579	185
Trade in pottery, bricks and tiles ..	3,784	357
Trade in chemical products	21,766	5,375
Hotels, cafes, restaurants etc. ..	6,619	831
Other trade in foodstuffs	187,686	44,386
Trade in clothing and other toilet articles	6,704	855
Trade in furniture	4,890	809
Trade in building materials	648	96
Trade in means of transport	3,094	1,269
Trade in fuel	12,556	6,039
Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters, arts and sciences	18,255	1,935
Trade of other sorts	19,526	2,483

It may be observed in this connection that under preparation and supply of material substances which include industry, transport and trade, the number per 10,000 of the total population of earners (principal occupation) and working dependents and subsidiary earners is distributed in the following ratio in urban and rural areas:⁶⁵

I. Occupation	Number per 10,000 of total population	Percentage of workers em- ployed	
		in cities	in ru- ral areas
Preparation and supply of material substances	667	6	94
Industry	409	7	93
Transport	58	11	89
Trade	200	5	95
II. <i>Subsidiary Occupation</i>			
Preparation and supply of material substances	166	1	99
Industry	57	..	100
Transport	10	1	99
Trade	50	1	99

It easily follows on the basis of statistics that the elements of agricultural weightage are heavy upon trade as an occupational pursuit of the provincial people.

Public Administration and Liberal Arts

The following is the strength of workers in the public administration and liberal arts:⁶⁶

Occupation (by order)	Working Proportion	
	Principal earners and working de- pendents	Total follow- ing subsidiary occupations
Public administration and liberal arts	170,620	29,642
Public force	44,772	5,459
Public administration	44,378	5,451
Professions and liberal arts ..	81,470	17,155

The recorded percentage of the number per 10,000 of the total population of principal earners, working dependents and subsidiary earners by occupations in cities and rural areas is tabled below:⁶⁷

Occupation (by order)	Percentage		
	Number per 10,000 of total popula- tion	in cities	in rural areas
Public administration and liberal arts ..	95	8	92
Public force	25	8	92
Public administration	25	12	88
Professions and liberal arts	45	6	94
(a) Religion	14	5	95
(b) Law	2	8	92
(c) Medicine	7	10	90
(d) Instruction	10	7	93
(e) Letters, arts and sciences	12	5	95

Under miscellaneous occupations the number per 10,000 of total population of principal earners and working dependents is 201 and the percentage in cities and rural areas is 10 and 90 respectively.⁶⁸

Religion

Of all the religious communities, the Hindu community forms an overwhelming majority in the Province. Its number is 15,124,766 or it is 84.06 per cent of the total population.⁶⁹ Those following tribal religions are 1,969,214 or 11 per cent of the total population.⁷⁰ Muslims number 706,108 or are 3.9 per cent of the total population.⁷¹ Christians are 102,285 or 0.60 per cent of the

total population, while Jains 79,855 or 0·40 per cent of the total population.⁷² Others (including Zoroastrians, Sikhs, Aryas, Brahmos, Jews, and Buddhists) are 6,851 or 0·04 per cent of the total population.⁷³

Hindus

The enormous preponderance of Hindus in the Province is due to the socio-religious and political causes.⁷⁴ Though the major section of Hindu society is largely influenced by tribal beliefs, customs and forms of worship, the claim of the microscopic educated Hindu section is that Hindus are passing through a 'Hindu' renaissance⁷⁵. The westernized 'Hindus' are agitating to bring about changes in Hinduism in the form of opposing infant marriage, of favouring the idea of widow remarriage, of revolt against the purdah system, of less exclusiveness in castes and of a general relaxation of orthodoxy.⁷⁶ The urbanized Hindu areas of the Province are witnessing the up-coming of revivalism or proselytizing movements known as 'Shuddhi' and 'Sangathan.'⁷⁷ 'Shuddhi' augments the process of reconversion of apostates and of assimilation of those following other religions and 'Sangathan' consolidates the union of all Hindus (including the depressed classes).⁷⁸

It is observed that "the idea of allowing members of other religions to be admitted to Hinduism is not a new one. It was in force even in the olden times when people from other religions used to be admitted within the fold of Hindu community after undergoing the ceremony called the 'Vratyastoma'." Even the Savarkar school boldly claims that "everybody whether Christian, Parsi or Mohammadan or professor of any other religion who lives in India and calls himself an Indian is a

Hindu.”⁷⁹ It represents ‘sabgolankari’ or no-caste people.⁸⁰ It is true that the Savarkar school stands for a no-caste society; but the social statistics of the Province show that the Savarkar movement is not a Hindu-mass movement. There is another movement in the Province sponsored by the non-Brahmanic section of the population and gaining ground.⁸¹ It aims at the diffusion of democratic ideas among the lower caste Hindus so that they may raise themselves in the social hierarchy.⁸² It is undoubtedly a forward movement; but its democratic ideas are transvalued in the Brahmanic sense i.e., the urge for a higher social status for the lower castes equivalent to that of the higher gradation of the Brahmanic order. It is an indirect attempt at the approximation of the Brahmanic social status and values rather than a creation of a casteless or no-caste society in which all people enjoy the same social status irrespective of caste, creed, colour and profession. The Brahmanic Hindu movement is actually not threatened by the surging tide of the non-Brahmanic ideas of social adjustment because the non-Brahmans or the lower strata of Hindu population will easily be dubbed as ‘higher’ caste without social integration. The existence of the Brahmanic Hindu movement thus will not be endangered; but on the contrary it will strengthen its position by finding its own Brahmanic ‘level.’ That is to say, the caste spirit determines and dominates even the higher classes of Hindu society and keeps them under its clutches. These non-Brahmanic Hindus, after being ‘baptized’ as higher caste Hindus will abide by the laws of the Brahmanic society with the advantage of having acquired a nominal higher social status. There is undoubtedly a tendency to wreck the caste-forms because the Hindu

society has a downtrodden humanity in enormous numbers ; but there are no traces of a tendency to demolish the caste-society of a higher order, which enjoys preferential rights and privileges. The Hindu 'underdogs' of the Province are eagerly waiting for an admission into a higher caste-society of Hindus.

The Hindu society is full of sects and castes and sub-castes and their sub-divisions. The major portion of the population—Hindu higher castes, Hindu depressed classes and hinduized aboriginals—is caste-controlled. The different ethnic elements are the determinants in the caste-formation of Hindu society in the Province.⁸³ The institution of caste is intact, though the relaxation of caste restrictions is marked. "The caste system and the customs inherent to it still maintain a stronghold over the village community and inter-marriage or inter-dining among the various castes and sub-castes is rare in the interior ; in the towns and more advanced rural areas a section of educated people with modern ideas freely dine together in spite of any difference of caste and religion."⁸⁴ It is further stated that "even in most advanced tracts inter-marriage between different castes and sub-castes is still very rare."⁸⁵ "The signs of the times are obvious ; but it must be admitted that statistics prove that the breakdown of caste restrictions is a very gradual process."⁸⁶ The agitation for climbing higher on the social ladder is most evident in the lower castes.⁸⁷ Whilst some of the changes in caste and tribal doctrine and custom are based on political expediency, most of them are purely social or economic in their origin.⁸⁸ The rise of the non-Brahman party in the Maratha Plain is a sign of revolt against the Brahmanic social, economic and political domination.

Castes and Tribes

There are 280 castes in the Province according to caste classification.⁸⁹ The most important castes and tribes in point of numbers are given below:⁹⁰

<i>Tribe or Caste</i>						<i>Number per mille of popula- tion</i>	<i>Tribal Number</i>
Gond ..	..	..	..	..	..	126	2,261,138
Mehra ..	..	..	..	..	..	73	1,307,962
Kunbi ..	..	..	..	..	..	71	1,281,184
Teli ..	..	..	..	..	..	57	1,022,881
Ahir ..	..	..	..	..	..	45	818,105
Mali ..	..	..	..	..	..	35	626,569
Chamar ..	..	..	..	..	..	34	615,692
Brahman ..	..	..	..	..	..	29	517,765
Rajput ..	..	..	..	..	..	28	506,087
Satnami ..	..	..	..	..	..	19	351,573
Dhimar ..	..	..	..	..	..	18	322,818
Kurmi ..	..	..	..	..	..	18	317,399
Lodhi ..	..	..	..	..	..	18	318,577
Kawar ..	..	..	..	..	..	16	287,156
Maratha ..	..	..	..	..	..	16	287,189
Bania ..	..	..	..	..	..	13	233,661
Panka ..	..	..	..	..	..	13	227,376
Kalar ..	..	..	..	..	..	12	219,168
Kewat ..	..	..	..	..	..	11	197,035
Lohar ..	..	..	..	..	..	11	203,303
Dhobi ..	..	..	..	..	..	10	187,606
Mari ..	..	..	..	..	..	10	181,095
Others (including Christians, Muslims etc.)						317	5,699,598

The above table reveals the fact that the majority of these castes belong to the hinduized tribal or depressed classes, who though hinduized are still considered out-

castes by the higher Hindu castes. It is a travesty of Hindu reality that the predominant castes of Hindus—Brahman, Bania, Maratha and Kunbi—usurp the field of political activity as Hindus and oust the other sections of the Hindu community. It is the monopolistic position of specific castes in the domain of politics that is creating ill-will and rancour in the intra-communal matters of the Hindu community in the Province. It is explicitly stated that “the strongest elements purely from the point of view of caste are the Brahmins, Banias, Marathas and Kunbis. Of these, the Maratha Brahmins and the Marathas and the Kunbis each represent communities closely bound by caste, custom and geographical distribution, whilst ‘other Brahmins’ and ‘Banias’ comprise a number of widely differing castes, in origin mostly foreign to the Province and possessing no such common characteristic as would constitute either of them distinct political entities.”⁹¹ It may be observed in this connection that the strength of the Brahmin caste is comparatively greatest where the non-Brahman party is strongest.⁹² This clearly shows that the interests of various castes are not aligned and harmonized with a Hindu common interest; but the usurpation of political power on the strength of all castes is aimed at by certain castes. In the realm of religion, castes breed disunity, segregationalism and indifference; but in the domain of politics, castes exert disintegrating influence on the whole Hindu society.

The exploitation is more acute on the basis of caste rule or domination. The Hindu society of the Province claims to be inspired with ‘democratic ideals’ or Hinduism, but in practice it rules them out. To consider the Hindu society as a solid community block is to hoodwink

its social facts. To regard it as a political community is to disregard the political maxim that elements of homogeneity determine the characteristics of a community. The Hindu society of the Province is a collection of people of diverse faiths and ways and of varied social and cultural inklings and interests. To bestow political power on the constituents of such a 'community' is to hand over a blank cheque to a very small non-representative section of the population. It plays its own game in the name of 'Hindu' rights and interests; but the fate of the Hindu millions hangs in the balance. The diverse Hindu interests—occupational or otherwise—cannot be protected and safeguarded on the basis of a 'Hindu community' as a political entity.

The Depressed Classes

The process of hinduization has worked its way through the depressed classes; but they still remain the victims of Hindu society. The stigma of untouchability is on their foreheads. They are a living picture of social ostracism and social injustice. Political factors more than social considerations have been instrumental in 'crediting' the depressed classes to the Hindu 'account' resulting in an enormous preponderance of Hindu number.⁹³ Had the whole movement of hinduizing the depressed classes been inspired with the principle of humanity, there would have been no depressed class today and the whole Hindu society would have been changed beyond recognition after the absorption of the depressed elements; but the facts speak out boldly that they actually were not hinduized, but only underwent a 'political' hinduization. The depressed classes are considered to be in the community, but they are out of it also.

In truth they are more out than in the fold of Hindu community for all practical purposes. They form its strong base ; but the Hindu superstructure is disregardful of it. They are, in fact, its backbone ; but the community has no sense of its own backbone.

The depressed classes form 17·7 per cent of the total population or their total number is 3,180,075.⁹⁴ The treatment meted out to them in the Province varies from district to district ; but it is either a long or short tale of human injustice, that is being repeated everywhere.⁹⁵ Such inhuman Hindu treatment is being strongly resented by them and they are beginning to retaliate ‘Hindus.’⁹⁶ It is observed that if the higher castes despise them they take reciprocal measures and taboo the overbearing castes.⁹⁷ This shows the sense of awakening in the depressed classes. Though the advanced section of the educated Hindus is beginning to realize the fact that the iniquitous behaviour and attitude of the general Hindu population towards the depressed classes can on no account be justified, there does not seem to be any appreciable change for the better in their present position.⁹⁸ About the depressed classes it is observed that “what are called the depressed or untouchables are not a caste but a diversity of castes. They differ in their manners and occupations, which are hereditary. There is no inter-dining among these castes—not to tell of inter-marriages. The only thing which is common in them is untouchability and there too some castes are regarded more untouchable and others less. Therefore this class as a whole is heterogeneous.”⁹⁹ The patent fact is that “the depressed classes though regarded as Hindus have no status as such in Hinduism and they have no place in the steel frame of the Chaturvarna system

(the system of four castes or colour) of Hinduism. Their religion can be said to be different from that of the Hindus."¹⁰⁰ The effect of the 'institution' of untouchability has not been deleterious for the depressed class but it has also adversely affected the economic condition of the people to a considerable extent.¹⁰¹

Aboriginal Tribes

The total numerical strength of aboriginal tribes in the Province is 4,526,700.¹⁰² Of these, 1,969,214 follow their own beliefs¹⁰³ and the remainder are Hindu (2,287,493), Christian (47,517) and a few thousands Muslim.¹⁰⁴ In the British districts of the Central Province and Berar, the number of the tribes is about 3,000,000. Even those who have 'changed' their 'religion' have retained their tribal characteristics. It is incorrect to class the hinduized tribes with the ordinary Hindus of the Province.¹⁰⁵ It is stated that "the difficulty was accentuated because many of those tribesmen, who are more closely associated with the cultivators of the Plain, themselves deliberately returned Hinduism as their religion, considering that such a return would elevate them in social scale while to the more simple of them the term Hindu does not convey any connection with religion but merely indicates a race."¹⁰⁶ The swelling of the 'hinduized' tribal number is also due to the fact that "the enumerators took it for granted that persons who were not Muhammadans, Parsis or Christians must be Hindus; but some of them were certainly animated by the conscious desire to extend the scope of Hinduism."¹⁰⁷

This shows the hollowness of the faked figures (2,287,493) of the 'hinduized' tribes in the Province. The aboriginals as a distinct group of people are, in fact,

not Hindu but tribal in their thinking and way of living because "the actual returns of religion are not, however, material to any discussion of the effects upon the tribes, of contact with cultures other than their own."¹⁰⁸ The form of religion of these tribes varies to an extraordinary extent, from village to village, from tribe to tribe and from tract to tract.¹⁰⁹ That the majority of the tribes are distinct in appearance, interest and custom from their more civilized neighbours is self-evident.¹¹⁰ The fact is that they are more than 20 per cent of the provincial population.¹¹¹ The question of tribal representation in the government of the country is a most acute provincial question. Who can represent them? Hindus have certainly added to their strength the tribal numerals; but miserably failed to sponsor the cause of tribes.

Muslims

Muslims of the Province are a small community forming 3·90 per cent of the total population. The Muslim community comprises all sorts of racial elements—Rajput, Gujar, tribal and indigenous. It is also a community that has its caste features.¹¹² "A high percentage of Muhammadans," says the Census Report, "in this Province has returned caste."¹¹³ These so-called castes are occupational groups or guilds which determine the lives of the caste Muslims.¹¹⁴ The large number of Muslims are descendants of Hindu converts and the surviving groups in which Hindu and Muslim customs are still observed side by side.¹¹⁵ There are the Khojahs and one section of Leva Kunbis, both of whom are found in the cotton district—the latter almost exclusively in Malkapur taluq of the Buldana District.¹¹⁶ The Leva

Kunbi sect is a curious synthesis of Hinduism and Islam.¹¹⁷ It is written about them that "they follow the Atharva Veda and call themselves Satpanthis, the followers of the truth. They worship the tombs of the Musalman saints. Their sacred book is the collection of religious precepts called "Shiksha Patri" made by Imam Shah, the saint of Perana. Their burial prayer is "in the name of Allah, the merciful, of Satgor Patia, of Brahma and Indra, of Iman Shah, of the spotless Vishnu and of Ali Muhammad Shah." They keep the Ramzan fast and yet observe the Hindu holidays, especially Holi and Devali."¹¹⁸

This phase of the synthesis on the religious plane was one of the peculiarities of our cultured life. Before the inauguration of communal movements in all the Provinces of India, the various communities culturally were interwoven. It was the sense of togetherness of life generated by religio-cultural forces that brought communities into closer social contact. The result of such a fusion of cultures was an awakening of the consciousness of a common living heritage in all communities. All religions in their original forms never became the sole property of the masses. They had to be explained to them from the mass viewpoint. The masses of rural India think in a different way from the people of urban India. In olden days the centres of religious 'reformation' were in rural regions. The change in the religious outlook of the masses was conditioned by their psycho-sociological world and their acceptance of a new religion did not convey to them an idea of wholesale mutilation of their old religious forms. The transvaluation of the old into the new without disturbing social harmonies was the method adopted by Hindu and Muslim

religious preachers. The old basis of life thus was not wrecked but reinforced for the spiritual 'rejuvenation' of the masses of India. Religion as a humanizing force was utilized for democratizing their lives. In this way the real masses, Hindu and Muslim, were made to feel, sense and live the unifying forces in all religions and the religious differences due to the ritualistic aspects of all religions were minimized to a negligible point.

The socio-cultural history of our country has ample fund of data to prove that the India of the medieval past was an India that realized the importance of synthesizing indigenous and exotic cultures and moulded the lives of the people according to the synthetic patterns and forms. This phase of our cultural life, irrespective of all religions and races, continued to exist till it was ruthlessly attacked by our so-called modern reformists of all religions. They did not visualize the socio-cultural fact that the process of synthesizing cultures of all stamps continued in a give-and-take way for centuries and ultimately created a commonness of religio-social ideal that brought about social harmony, peace and concord. That was the real basis of our national outlook and thinking. The zealous modern reformists of all communities failed to understand the intrinsic value of our common cultural heritage owned proudly by all sections of people of our country. The chief reason for their failure to comprehend was that they were born in the period of dislocation and disintegration. They thought that the cause for the 'decay' of communities was the false-facedness of their religions. They were the people who had no insight into and no notion of the inherent forces in the cultural evolution of our country. They were fired by religious zeal only. The mission of their life

was to see a quick transformation of the established forms of religion into an ultramontane religion as a true replica of the primordial religion for their specific communities. The existence of Hindu or Muslim elements in the framework of their religions was an evil that could not be tolerated by them. Their urge for the purification of their religions was a direct 'purge' at all costs. Their world of religion was to them a living world, but the people of our country always believed and lived in the worlds of religion. The religious dynamics of the reformers did a negative service to their own people by infusing a spirit of hatred, animosity and antagonism against the people of other religions; but they really did great disservice to the people in general who were living peacefully with all communities. The Hindu and Muslim communities, as disintegrated social phenomena, are the outcome of their communal thinking and activity. Their influence was markedly perceptible during the latter half of the 19th century in the social world of India. This was regarded as the hey-day for various communities. The reaction resulted in widening the gulf between various communities.

Hindus and Muslims in urban India began to think and act on communal lines and attempted to hinduize or muslimize the life of the people according to their own way of thinking and living which was virtually and radically different from the synthesized cultural life of our people of the past. Communities of all denominations were formed into separate cultural entities at the expense of a common cultural life. The modern India has witnessed the birth of segregated communal worlds, while it discarded the amalgam of a common culture from its edifice. There can be no hope of a commu-

nal understanding in the India of today, unless the basis of a common life and thinking is reset on the old basis of cultural unification. The country is faced not with a political but a socio-cultural problem that needs immediate attention, if India has to live her own life again. Though the communities have been worked to a high pitch of agitated nervousness, the actual lives of the peoples of all Provinces are impressed with provincial stamps. The Indian Province is a world of its own and leaves its unmistakable marks on its inhabitants whosoever they may be. The pity is that the communal thought is disturbing even the provincial cultural life and breaking old provincial loyalties by infusing a spirit of extra-provincial 'brotherhood' in the minds of the people. The fact remains unaltered that even those communal provincials do remain typical provincials; but the communal-mindedness of the provincials is instrumental in weakening and under-mining their own provincial culture, that needs enlivening, because it is the product of the labours of all provincials. To destroy the provincial culture is to poison the very source of life. More so the provincial problems, political, social, economic and cultural, get more and more complicated on the basis of communal way of thinking. Religion should not disrupt the process of cultural integration in the Province, but help in its promotion and cultivation.

Christians

The Christian community is a small community of the Province. It consists of Christian of tribal, indigenous and foreign origins. The total strength of Christians is 102,285 on the provincial basis.¹¹⁹ The tribal

Christians (Oraon) total 47,517.¹²⁰ This tribal community is agricultural and still retains its tribal characteristics.¹²¹ The number of Indian Christians other than Oraons is 43,774.¹²² Among Christians, Europeans (5,650) and Anglo-Indians (5,065) form a very small community.²³ The Christian community has adherents in different churches—Roman Catholic, Romo-Syrian, Anglican Communion and Lutheran.¹²⁴ The racial, economic and religious factors are hindrances in the unification of the Christian population.

Jains

The Jain community is a microscopic community. The total strength of Jains in the Province is 79,855 or 0.40 per cent of the total population.¹²⁵ They form a considerable part of the population of Saugor, Damoh, Jubbulpore, Buldana, Akola and Yeotmal.¹²⁶

Minor Religions

Other religions are followed by only 6,857 persons in the whole of the Province.¹²⁷ The Zoroastrian community consists of only 2,109 persons but its contribution to public life is astounding.¹²⁸ Sikhs number 4,520.¹²⁹ Jews are 153 and Buddhists only 69.¹³⁰

Literacy

The Province is on the whole more educated than the United Provinces, the Punjab and Bihar and Orissa.¹³¹ The provincial literacy is 110 per mille of the male population aged 5 and over.¹³² The total number of literates is 913,428 (including both sexes).¹³³ The extent of literacy by age, sex and natural division is given below:¹³⁴

<i>Natural Division</i>	<i>Number per mille who are literate</i>									
	All ages 5 & over		5 to 10		10 to 15		15 to 20		20 & over	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Fe- male</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Fe- male</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Fe- male</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Fe- male</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Fe- male</i>
Central Provinces & Berar	110	11	34	9	80	14	152	17	126	9
Nerbudda Valley..	159	17	60	14	109	22	193	26	189	16
Plateau ..	85	7	34	5	53	9	106	11	102	6
Maratha Plain ..	138	14	61	12	114	28	200	22	152	12
Chhattis- garh Plain ..	64	6	21	4	42	7	89	9	77	5
Chota Nagpur Plateau	21	1	5	1	11	1	30	1	27	1

The higher proportion of literacy in the Nerbudda Valley is due to the presence of the most literate communities—Brahman, Kayastha, European, Anglo-Indian, Indian Christian and Bohra.¹³⁵ In the Maratha Plain the literacy also is high because of the numerical importance of Brahmans and Banias.¹³⁶ As the urban population in the Maratha Plain Division and in the Nerbudda Valley Division is proportionately much higher than in other parts of the Province, the proportion of literacy automatically goes up.¹³⁷ The proportion of literacy by religion or community is tabled below.¹³⁸

<i>Religion or Community</i>	<i>Number per mille literate in each main religion or community</i>	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Zoroastrian	900	809
Jain	623	100
Indian Christian (excluding Oraons) ..	501	422
Brahman	488	91
Muslim	264	38
All Religions	110	11
All Hindus	110	8
Other Hindus (excluding depressed classes)	92	5
Oraon Christians	50	4
Depressed classes	28	1
Tribal	9	4

Literacy by caste throws more light on the strength of certain castes within communities than literacy by religion. The following table brings out the importance of certain castes on the basis of high literacy.¹³⁹

<i>Caste</i>	<i>Number per mille who are literate</i>		
	<i>Persons</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
Central Provinces and Berar (All Castes)	51	92	9
Bohra	546	780	332
Indian Christian (excluding Oraons) ..	492	534	451
Kayastha	466	714	186
Brahman	373	581	122
Bania	350	598	74
Komti	330	657	21
Sunar	224	416	25
Darzi	184	337	22
Bairagi	138	252	21
Maratha	130	236	20
Beldar	67	131	6
Gossain	123	227	19
Rajput	114	209	15

The proportion of literacy among all other castes varies from 3 to 169 per mille who are literate males.¹⁴⁰

Literacy in English is more than 1 per cent in the Province where only 11 per cent of the male population (over 5 years of age) is literate.¹⁴¹ While it is greatest in six communities, the figures for Kayasthas and Brahmans (23 per cent and 13 per cent respectively) of the male proportion over 7 years age) are incomparably larger than those for any other Hindus.¹⁴² Zoroastrians are, of course, far ahead of others with 700 males per mille educated in English.¹⁴³ 35 per mille male Jains, and 34 per mille of male Muslims are literate in English.¹⁴⁴ Baniyas and Komtis each with 4 per cent literate in English come next in the list to Brahmans, whilst 21 per cent of the Bohras are literate in English.¹⁴⁵

Languages

It is remarked that "the Central Provinces is by reason of its history and of its geographical position one of the most complex cultural areas in India and so one of the most interesting."¹⁴⁶ The varying numbers of people in the Central Provinces speak 48 recognized languages of India, which include no less than 91 identified dialects and sub-dialects, 34 recognized forms of languages and 20 other returns of known dialects under local names.¹⁴⁷ Though these languages are spoken in the Province, yet only a few can assert to claim a linguistic position. To make the point clear it is necessary to discuss the relative importance of the various group-families of languages on the basis of percentage of the speakers of these languages. There are four main families of languages in the Province. The most important language sub-family for the Province is the Aryan sub-family of

the Indo-European family of languages. The other language families are of no provincial significance. For instance, the non-Asiatic group of languages has a nil percentage on the provincial linguistic basis. This means that of the various Asiatic languages Arabic has 447 speakers; Persian 670 speakers; Afghani, Balochi, Rohilli, Japanese, Chinese, Mongolian, Singhalese, Turkish and Hebrew have only a few speakers.¹⁴⁸ In the same way the speakers of European languages except English (mothertongue of 11,529 speakers but spoken by 1 per cent of the population) are few.¹⁴⁹

In the Austric family (Austro-Asiatic sub-family) the Munda branch claims only 1 per cent of the population; but this branch has many dialects known as Kolami (28,362 speakers); Korku (161,975) speakers; Kharia (9,076 speakers) and Kherwani (4,879 speakers).¹⁵⁰ These dialects of the Munda branch are spoken by the tribes and have no bearing on the provincial linguistic problem unless they come together and develop an uniform language.

The Dravidian family of languages has little claim on the Province. Of these languages, Gondi is spoken by 7·1 per cent of the population, Kurukh (or Oraon) by 0·8 per cent, Kolami by 0·2 per cent, Telugu by 0·8 per cent, Kanarese by 0·1 per cent, Tamil by 0·1 per cent and other Dravidian languages nil.¹⁵¹ The following table shows the number of speakers in each Dravidian language:¹⁵²

<i>Language</i>							<i>Number of speakers</i>
Gondi	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,280,421
Kurukh	..	..	..	..	..	..	142,323
Kolami	..	..	..	..	..	..	28,362
Telugu	..	..	..	..	..	..	142,430
Kanarese	..	..	..	..	..	..	9,000
Tamil	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,000
Other languages of Dravidian family	..	..	..	..	..	..	4,000

Though among the Dravidian languages Gondi ranks first, yet it is not spoken in the contiguous areas, which fact makes it difficult to assign a place on the provincial linguistic map. It is spoken in the districts of Mandala, Betul, Chhindwara, Hoshangabad, Seoni and Chanda and in the Bastar, Kanker and Changbhakar States; but in all the districts except Chanda (which is predominantly Marathi-speaking) Hindustani overwhelms Gondi. In the Bastar and Changbhakar States Gondi dominates; but the Kanker State is a Hindustani-speaking area. Thus Gondi has to recede into the background in favour of Hindustani and Marathi as provincial languages. The language family that over rides the other language family in the Provinces is the Aryan sub-family of the Indo-European family. The following is the percentage of the population who speaks each language:¹⁵³

<i>Language</i>							<i>Percentage</i>
Western Hindi	..	..	..	..	..	..	31·2
Rajasthani	..	..	..	..	..	..	1·9
Gujrati	..	..	..	..	..	..	0·3
Bhili	..	..	..	..	..	..	0·2
Punjabi	..	..	..	..	..	..	0·1
Bengali	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Oriya	..	..	..	..	..	..	2·1
Eastern Hindi	..	..	..	..	..	..	22·8
Marathi	..	..	..	..	..	..	31·2
Other languages of Aryan sub-family	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Out of these languages, Bengali, Punjabi, Gujrati, Bhili and Oriya are not the indigenous languages of the Province; but they are spoken by the non-provincial immigrants.¹⁵⁴ Even so the Rajasthani, though it has 347,000 speakers and spoken in dialects, can be confined to the Marwari speakers who are chiefly immigrants.¹⁵⁵ As a language it has no significance for the Province.

In the whole analysis of the linguistic problem only two major languages hold sway over the provincial linguistic domain. Hindi, including Eastern and Western, is spoken by 54 per cent of the population.¹⁵⁶ The Eastern Hindi in its various forms is more widely spoken in the Province than the Western Hindi.¹⁵⁷ The Hindi figures are 9,713,218.¹⁵⁸ It may be mentioned in this connection that the Western Hindi as a language is Hindi-cum-Urdu.¹⁵⁹ It is called also Hindustani (Hindi-cum-Urdu) language. In Berar the Western Hindi is not recognized as Hindi but a 'Musalmani bat.'¹⁶⁰ There are many nuances in the Eastern and Western Hindi. It is a great task before the Province to effect their development on lines that may ultimately lead to the breakdown of artificial barriers between the two forms of the same language. The Eastern Hindi has to adopt an uniform linguistic standard on the basis of its linguistic laws. Unless it is done, the Eastern Hindi will continue to be spoken in various dialects that are permanent hindrances in the way of its uniform development as a virile language for the Province. The Western Hindi (Hindi-cum-Urdu or Hindustani) has to follow suit. There are no marked differences in the Eastern and Western forms of Hindi as languages.

The next important language for the Province is Marathi which is spoken by 31.2 per cent of the popu-

lation.¹⁶¹ The number of Marathi speakers amounts to 5,618,000.¹⁶² In order to provincialize Marathi it is most essential to bring about an uniformity in the language by doing away with its various dialects. The Marathi of the Central Provinces will be coloured by local conditions; but it has to rank as a language of the people by developing an all-round uniform forms and expressions.

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CHAPTER NINTH

THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY

Area

The area of the Madras Presidency proper (excluding the States) is 142,300 square miles and is second in area among the great administrative divisions of British India.¹ The Madras Presidency is bigger than Belgium, England and Wales, Great Britain, Prussia and Italy.²

Natural and Administrative Divisions

The Presidency as it is composed has few natural divisions. The map of the Presidency is chalked out more on the administrative than natural lines. Its natural divisions are as follows: (1) Agency; (2) East Coast North; (3) Deccan; (4) East Coast Central; (5) East Coast South and (6) West Coast. The Agency tracts are essentially that part of the Eastern Ghat within the Presidency north of the Godavari.³ They are far from homogeneous in composition or population and include areas such as Naurangpur, most of Jeypore and some of Malkanagiri, which are practically indistinguishable from the Central Provinces.⁴ The area of the tracts is forested.⁵ The East Coast North Division of the Presidency as a natural division should stop with the Kistna river, for the inland taluks of Guntur have more in common with Hyderabad and the Deccan than with the Coromandal coast. This division marks one of the most well-defined linguistic frontiers of the Presidency.⁶

The four delta districts further differ in many ways from the two coastal districts to the north.⁷ Although these lie more north than east of the Godavari and Kistna, their inhabitants are always known as 'East men,' while in the Telugu tracts of Vizagapatam and Ganjam, the inhabitants of the deltas are known as 'West men.'⁸ Nellor, south of the Pennar, would be more fittingly attached to the East Coast Central Division, while the remainder of it is really a no-man's land possessing a good deal in common with the Deccan over the Ghats behind it.⁹ Similarly, the Chittor District is a transition belt between the Deccan and the East Coast Central Division.¹⁰ This division covers regions of wide variety and it includes the South Arcot District of which the southern taluks have more in common with Tanjore than with their own district.¹¹ The West Coast is the most obvious and natural division of all.¹² It may be observed in connection with the natural divisions of the Madras Presidency that the natural association of a number of boundary fragments is not with the Presidency at all but with the adjoining Provinces or States.¹³ The Presidency has 26 districts as administrative units. The Madras District differs in many ways from its parallel in other Provinces.¹⁴ This is so in area. The largest district, Vizagapatam, with 17,000 square miles, is more than half the size of Scotland, bigger than Switzerland, Holland and Belgium, almost equal to Berar considerably larger than Orissa, Baroda and Travancore States put together.¹⁵ Nineteen other districts out of the twenty-six are above 4,000 square miles in extent, half the size of Wales.¹⁶ Of these 19, one is above 8,000; four are between 7,000 and 8,000 and seven between 5,000 and 7,000 square miles.¹⁷

Population and Density

The total population of the Presidency is 47,193,602 including the three States; 46,740,107 for British territory alone.¹⁸ The relative distribution by natural divisions is given below:¹⁹

<i>Natural Division</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Percent of Total</i>
Agency	1,763,765	3.7
East Coast North	12,175,530	25.8
Deccan	4,047,344	8.6
East Coast Central	13,349,980	28.3
East Coast South	10,774,702	22.8
West Coast	5,082,281	10.8

The Presidency ranks third in population among Indian Provinces.²⁰ The density of its population is 329 per square mile.²¹

The greatest average district population of the Presidency is 1,797,696.²² The most populous district is Vizagapatam (3,607,948).²³ In Madras 11 districts out of 26 have over 2 million people within their borders.²⁴ The population of both Vizagapatam and Malabar is greater than Gwalior State, Berar, Baroda State and the North-West Frontier Province (administered area).²⁵

Urban Population

The population of the Presidency is overwhelmingly rural rather than urban. Only about an eighth of the population lives in urban areas.²⁶ The actual urban proportion works out to 13.6 per cent.²⁷ The compara-

the distribution of urban population by natural divisions for districts in ascending order is tabled below:²⁸

<i>Natural Divisions and District</i>							<i>Urban population per mille</i>
AGNCA .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Ganjam .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	Nil
East Godavari .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	Nil
Vizagapatam .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
EAST COAST NORTH .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	113
Ganjam .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	60
Nellore .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	83
Vizagapatam .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	109
West Godavari .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	132
Guntur .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	137
Kistna .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	142
East Godavari .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	144
DECCAN .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	108
Kurnool .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	57
Cuddapah .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	91
Anantpur .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	112
Banganapalli .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	147
Bellary .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	172
Sandur .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	311
EAST COAST CENTRAL .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	153
Chittor .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	57
Salem .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	80
South Arcot .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	97
Coimbatore .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	113
North Arcot .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	149
Chingleput .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	162
EAST COAST SOUTH .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	195
Trichinopoly .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	141
Tanjore .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	166
Pudukkottai .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	173
Madura .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	201
Ramnad .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	214
Tinnevely .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	256
WEST COAST .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	89
Malabar .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	77
South Kanara .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	91
Nilgiris .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	320

The statistics of urban population by religion show that the minor religions favour the urban predilection.²⁹ Small communities generally tend to cluster in urban areas and immigrants also seek to settle down in towns. Though a large part of Madras Muslim stock is indigenous, the greater urban predilection of the Muslim may reflect his partly immigrant history.³⁰ Where Muslims are most numerous and most indigenous, they are least town dwellers but their West Coast figure differs very little from that of Hindus.³¹ In the same region the Jain is less of a town dweller than either Hindu, Muslim or Christian, for, in Kanara he is much more a normal unit of population than the peripatetic north country trader, he generally is elsewhere.³² The following tables show the strength of urban population and of each main religion who live in towns.³³

I. Natural Division	Number per mille who live in towns								
	Popu- lation	Hindu	Mus- lim	Chris- tian	Tri- bal	Jain	Buddh- ist	Zoroas- trian	Jew
Province	136	124	254	207	1	229	598	957	1,000
Agency	6	7	73	12	..	..	..	..	..
East Coast North	113	107	276	114	12	851	397	979	1,000
Deccan	103	83	287	96	..	413	813	1,000	..
East Coast Central	153	136	467	349	..	236	736	962	1,000
East Coast South	195	181	406	216	..	845	607	1,000	1,000
West Coast	89	74	92	304	82	58	281	928	1,000

II. Natural Division	Number per 10,000 of urban population					
	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Tribal	Jain	Others
Total	8,086	1,319	580	1	11	3
Agency	9,208	382	374	26	..	10
East Coast						
North	8,752	816	422	3	6	1
Deccan	6,535	3,164	275	..	25	1
East Coast						
Central	8,296	1,181	497	..	20	6
East Coast						
South	8,267	1,093	635	..	3	2
West Coast ..	5,758	2,749	1,475	1	12	5

The distribution of urban population on the basis of linguistic areas is of immense interest and its ratio is given below:³⁴

Linguistic Area								Percentage
Tamil .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15.68
Kanarese ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13.65
Tulu .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11.64
Telugu .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10.61
Malayalam ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7.26
Oriya .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3.98

Rural Population

The vast majority of the Presidency dwells in villages.³⁵ The rural proportion of the provincial population is 86.4 per cent.³⁶ The following is the proportion of rural population by natural divisions:³⁷

<i>Natural Division</i>	<i>Number per 1,000 of rural population residing in villages with a population of</i>			
	<i>5,000 and over</i>	<i>2,000 to 5,000</i>	<i>500 to 2,000</i>	<i>Under 500</i>
Province	79	328	469	124
Agency	4	36	161	799
East Coast North	56	344	485	115
Deccan	33	301	585	80
East Coast Central	59	311	532	98
East Coast South	81	362	455	102
West Coast	228	407	335	30

The population per village on the provincial basis is 784.³⁸ The distribution of rural population by religion is tabled below:³⁹

<i>Natural Division</i>	<i>Per 10,000 of rural population</i>					
	<i>Hindu</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Christian</i>	<i>Tribal</i>	<i>Jain</i>	<i>Others</i>
Total	50	..	..	5	..	..
Agency	8,006	29	183	1,782	..	..
East Coast North	9,280	271	416	33	..	..
Deccan	8,723	956	316	..	5	..
East Coast Central	9,576	244	168	..	12	..
East Coast South	9,051	387	559	..	..	..
West Coast	6,992	2,658	330	..	19	..

Occupational Distribution

The numerical strength of workers (principal occupation earners and working dependents) engaged in all occupations is 26,195,421.⁴⁰ In other words, per mille of population principal earners are 383 and working dependents 172.⁴¹ In addition to these there are subsidiary earners whose total is 2,725,282.⁴² Their number per 10,000 of total population in all occupations is 577·5 and the percentage of subsidiary earners employed in cities is 1·7 and in rural areas 98·3.⁴³ The following table shows their distribution by class:⁴⁴

<i>Occupation (by class)</i>	<i>Earners as Subsidiary Occupation</i>		
	<i>Number per 10,000 of total population</i>	<i>Percentage of workers employed</i>	
		<i>in cities</i>	<i>in rural areas</i>
Production of raw materials	130.0	1.3	98.7
Production and supply of material substances	113.2	1.3	98.7
Public administration and liberal arts	22.4	1.7	98.3
Miscellaneous	311.9	2.1	97.9

The general distribution of principal earners and working dependents is tabled below in the order of occupational sub-classes:⁴⁵

<i>Occupation (by sub-class)</i>	<i>Number of earners and working dependents</i>	<i>Proportion of earners & working dependents in each occupation per 1,000</i>
Exploitation of animals and vegetation ..	12,810,183	270
Exploitation of minerals	13,177	0.3
Industry	2,288,206	49
Transport	294,535	6.2
Trade	1,035,043	22
Public force	56,296	1.2
Public administration	151,558	3.2
Professions and liberal arts	314,898	6.7
Persons living on their income	26,265	0.6
Domestic service	6,493,085	138
Insufficiently-described occupations ..	2,622,577	56
Unproductive	162,875	3.4

The number per 10,000 of total population of earners and working dependents engaged in all occupations is 5,551 and their percentage in cities is 4.4 and in rural areas 95.6.⁴⁶

Agriculture

The Presidency is essentially a country that produces raw materials and agriculture is the chief of all occupations.⁴⁷ That is to say, a large proportion of the population follows agricultural pursuits.⁴⁸ In the exploitation of animals and vegetation, cultivation engages 11,930,290 earners (principal occupation), working dependents and 539,753 subsidiary earners.⁴⁹ The numerical strength of the agricultural group of workers is tabled below:⁵⁰

<i>Agricultural Group</i>	<i>Actual Number</i>
Non-cultivating proprietors taking rent in money or kind	336,987
Estate agents and managers, rent collectors, clerks etc.	23,465
Cultivating owners	4,739,790
Tenant cultivators	1,430,410
Non-cultivating tenants	198,476
Agricultural labourers	5,095,120

The real strength of the agricultural community is 11,265,320 (including cultivating owners, tenant cultivators and agricultural labourers) while the total number of the non-agricultural class as landlordism is 558,928. This class lives on the labour of the agricultural people and has no particular interest in land or agriculture except the produce of the soil. The absentee landlordism is unproductive and parasitical. The agricultural problem of the Presidency demands that the non-cultivating proprietors as well as non-cultivating tenants should evince keen and sustained interest in the well-being of the agricultural community as producers and participants in the agricultural occupations. If the 'aristocracies' of agriculture continue to believe in the 'finality' of their status, they will one day rue for their non-agricultural setting of life. It is in their interest to identify their lot with the general agricultural community of the Presidency and to work in unison with the agriculturists as brother comrades. Peasants and landlords can never exist as two different socio-economic entities. Their way of life is one and the same. They have to live or die as an individual. The privileged class of landlords will have to go to the wall, if the general agricultural

planning and reorganization is undertaken with a view to nationalize agriculture. It is more in the fitness of things that the land-owning class realizes the futility of its ostrich belief and readjusts itself to the agricultural setting. If a sense of trusteeship dawned upon the landlords, they would do more service to their own class as well as to the agricultural people and occupation. In their complete identification with agricultural community, the Presidency can show definite signs of agricultural development and progress. In the allied pursuits of agriculture (including cultivation of special crops, fruits, etc: forestry, stock raising, raising of small animals and insects, fishing and hunting) there are 806,716 principal occupation earners and working dependents.⁵¹

Exploitation of Minerals

It is observed that the Presidency is not rich in minerals.⁵² Mining is carried on in the districts of Bellary, Cuddapah, Nellore, the Nilgiris, Salem, Trichinopoly and Vizagapatam and the principal minerals that are worked are manganese, magnesite mica, barytes, gold, silver, stratite, corundum, asbestos, phosphatic nodules and gypsum.⁵³ Of these only the first three are of importance.⁵⁴ The statistical data regarding the number of workers engaged in the exploitation of minerals show that the exploitation and organization of minerals have not received due attention and there is ample scope for their development along the lines of national planning. In the activity of mineral exploitation and organisation, agriculture has much to influence its general development. To ignore the mineral resources of the Presidency is to underrate its mineral wealth. It will be of some interest to know the percentage of earners

(principal occupation) and working dependents engaged in the production of raw materials in urban and rural areas on the basis of 10,000 of the total population. The following table makes the point clear:⁵⁵

Occupation (by order)	Number per 10,000 of total population	Percentage of work- ers employed	
		in cities	in rural areas
Production of raw material	2,702	0.7	99.3
Exploitation of animals and vegetation	2,699	0.7	99.3
Cultivation	2,828	0.6	99.4
Exploitation of minerals	3	7.9	92.1

Industry

The total number of earners (principal occupation) and working dependents engaged in all the categories of industry amounts to 2,288,206.⁵⁶ The following table illustrates their general distribution in industrial occupation.⁵⁷

Industry (by order)	Actual Number
Textiles	602,532
Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom	40,659
Wood	281,028
Metals	83,881
Ceramics	113,894
Food industries	222,668
Industries of dress and the toilet	592,726
Furniture industries	1,125
Building industries	137,328
Construction of means of transport	3,516
Production and transmission of physical force	3,198
Miscellaneous and undefined industries	163,619

The future of industry in the Presidency much depends upon the reorganization of agriculture and the linkage of industry with agriculture. It is pointedly noted that "the development of industries in the Presidency is likely to be chiefly in the direction of converting and working up into manufactured or semi-manufactured form of agricultural and forest products of the Province. For instance, there is scope in the setting up of additional cotton spinning and weaving mills and for the development of the oil-crushing industry in its various forms."⁵⁸ This clearly shows that real development of industrial activity in the Presidency will always have to do with the allied pursuits of agriculture. Industry, if it is to work on progressive lines, has to find its fulcrum in the agricultural activity. The Presidency can ill-afford the network of large-scale industry; but small-scale industries will suit it naturally.⁵⁹ Oil seeds, hides and skins, forests, plantations, cashew, cocoanut, copra, coffee, cotton, tea, castor and gingelly belong to the production of raw materials which indirectly means that agriculture and its allied pursuits monopolize them. For the manufacture of these raw products of the Presidency, industrialization of rural areas is essential. This could be done by setting up small-scale industries suited to the specific needs of the different categories of agricultural pursuits. In this way the economic activity of the rural Presidency can be co-ordinated with industrial activity. Thus industrialization of rural areas will change the starving villages into self-supporting villages. These will also become the real centres of industrial life leading to the economic prosperity of the whole country. The present day condition of industry is that it has not fully exploited the resources of the Presidency with the result that much

of the raw products have to go out of the country to be turned into 'finished' products. This is much due to the limited scope of the large-scale industry. The small-scale industries will work in a more effective manner because of the co-existence of raw materials in rural areas. Last but not least, the small-scale industries will keep villages intact. There will be no disruption of villages as it is being witnessed today in the urbanized areas of India due to large-scale industry. The 'hungry' villager has to come out of his village to earn a livelihood in urban areas; but he always remains a villager. Having acquired a little wealth he goes back again to his village and settles down as a villager. Such an 'erratic' population of village can never get itself absorbed in urban areas; but it can only stabilize itself in case small-scale industries function in rural areas. Villagers will then be agriculturists as well as industrialists. Thus agriculture and industry can be reciprocated and supplemented by each other in the Presidency.

Transport

In this occupational pursuit there are 294,535 earners (principal occupation) and working dependents who are engaged in transport by water, road, rail and post office, elegraph and telephone services.⁶⁰

Trade

It has an importance of its own as an occupation. Trade engages 1,035,043 workers (principal occupation earners and working dependents).⁶¹ In addition to these there are 186,979 subsidiary earners living on trade as well.⁶² The general distribution of earners (principal occupation) and working dependents according to their engagement in different lines of trade is tabled below:⁶³

<i>Trade (by order)</i>	<i>Actual Number</i>
Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance	37,256
Brokerage, commission and export	8,815
Trade in textiles	75,836
Trade in skins, leather and furs	13,465
Trade in wood	17,250
Trade in metals	3,884
Trade in pottery, bricks and tiles	5,034
Trade in chemical products	5,300
Hotels, cafés, restaurants etc.	72,843
Other trade in foodstuffs	476,193
Trade in clothing and toilet articles	13,203
Trade in furniture	8,685
Trade in building materials	4,396
Trade in means of transport	10,402
Trade in fuel	45,516
Trade in other sorts	208,649

It may be observed here that under preparation and supply of material substances (including industry, transport and trade) the number per 10,000 of total population of earners (principal occupation) and working dependents is distributed in the following ratio in urban and rural areas:⁶⁴

<i>Occupation (by sub-class)</i>	<i>Earners and working dependents</i>		
	<i>Number per 10,000 of total population</i>	<i>Percentage of workers employed</i>	
		<i>in cities</i>	<i>in rural areas</i>
Preparation and supply of material substances	767	11·2	28·8
Industry	485	9·5	90·5
Transport	62	20·9	79·1
Trade	219	12·0	88·0

Public Administration and Liberal Arts

This class of occupations provides means of sustenance to 628,208 earners (principal occupation), working dependents and subsidiary earners.⁶⁵ The following table shows the strength of principal occupation earners and working dependents per 10,000 of total population and their percentage in urban and rural areas.⁶⁶

Occupation (by order)	Number per 10,000 of total population	Percentage of workers employed	
		in cities	in rural areas
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND LIBE-			
RAL ARTS	111	16.0	84.0
Public force	12	20.6	79.4
(a) Army	1	40.0	60.0
(b) Navy .. .. .	..	33.3	66.7
(c) Air force .. .. .	..	..	..
(d) Police	11	18.7	81.3
Public administration	32	17.8	82.2
Professions and liberal arts	67	14.3	85.7
(e) Religion	18	7.6	92.4
(f) Law	4	33.6	66.4
(g) Medicine	10	17.6	82.4
(h) Instruction	25	13.5	86.5
(i) Letters, arts and sciences	10	17.5	82.5

Miscellaneous

Under this occupational head the number per 10,000 of total population of earners and working dependents is 1,971 and their percentage in cities and rural areas is 6.3 and 93.7 respectively.⁶⁷

Religion

The actual numerical strength of the population by religion is given below:⁶⁸

<i>Religion</i>								<i>Actual Number</i>
Hindu	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	41,685,148
Muslim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,332,157
Christian	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,793,742
Tribal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	348,763
Jain	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	31,237
Others	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,555

The distribution of each religion by natural divisions is as follows:⁶⁹

<i>Natural Division</i>	<i>Proportion per 10,000 of population</i>					
	<i>Hindu</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Christian</i>	<i>Tribal</i>	<i>Jain</i>	<i>Others</i>
Province ..	8,832	706	380	74	7	1
Agency ..	8,014	31	184	1,771	..	..
East Coast North	9,220	333	416	30	1	..
Deccan ..	8,486	1,195	312	..	7	..
East Coast Central ..	9,380	388	218	..	13	1
East Coast South	8,901	525	573	..	1	..
West Coast ..	6,883	2,666	431	1	18	1

The social statistics clearly bring out the fact that Hindus are predominant everywhere; the primitive tribes are mainly concentrated in the north, Christians in the south and the east and Muslims in the west but also represented in most districts.⁷⁰

Hindus

Hindus form over 88 per cent of the total population.⁷¹ The Hindu society of the south is different from its northern prototype. Though Hinduism as a

South Indian phenomenon presents much that is peculiar to orthodoxy from the north, it has much more in common with animism, especially in the Tamil regions, most of all in Tinnevely and Ramnad.⁷³ It is observed that "the old pre-Aryan beliefs have in fact led captivity captive."⁷³ In these regions of the Presidency, "Brahmanism has very little hold."⁷⁴ The religious practices bear the animistic colouring.⁷⁵ The Tamil districts have distinct 'Hindu' characteristic features from the Telugu 'Hindu' areas.⁷⁶ It is pointed out that Andhra Desa has much more of an Aryan impress than Tamil Nad.⁷⁷

The Hindu society of the Presidency has a colourful setting in Aryan and pre-Aryan beliefs and customs. The Census Report informs that the only broad sectarian distinction is between Vaishnavism and Saivism for the bulk of the population outside the West Coast.⁷⁸ A rough distribution of Vaishnavites and Saivites in the Presidency would be that the Telugu region prefers Vaishnavism, the Tamil Saivism and the West Coast recognizes neither.⁷⁹ The spirit of Vaishnavism increases as one goes north.⁸⁰ The historic rivalries between these two religious sects of the South Hinduism needs no elaboration.

The Hindu community of the Presidency is a caste community. Political tendency, influencing the census figures, tried to broadbase the Hindu society, but it could not destroy the institution of caste, which "is and as far as can be seen will remain an essential element of Hindu life."⁸¹ It is also stated that "it in no sense follows necessarily from this view that caste is considered of no or declining importance in Hindu life."⁸² The Presidency abounds in myriads of castes.⁸³ Caste prejudice is not a monopoly of Brahmans; it is in fact more prominent at

the lowest level of the community than at the highest.⁸⁴ The Hindu society is witnessing slight changes in the non-essentials of Hinduism and its caste system; but there are no indications for a change in their essentials.⁸⁵ The social principle governing the whole order of Hindu society is differentiative, distinctive and hierarchical. The Presidency Hindu society is a hotch-potch of beliefs, usages, customs and traditions. The elements of social coherency are wanting in it. The Hindu society functions with all the varieties of the Dravidianized forms and expressions. In its inner strength it betrays signs of weakness; but in its outer form it is multi-coloured. It is a 'make-believe' community whose constituent parts are dissimilar and disjointed.

The Depressed Classes

The Presidency is a shocking picture of contrasts in human behaviourism. The provincial social problem is a problem of human adjustment and alignment that still awaits solution. The depressed class as a sociological problem is staring hard and the Presidency is reluctant to come to social grips. There are 7,300,000 people of the depressed classes in the Presidency or 15·50 per cent of the provincial population are the depressed classes.⁸⁶ It is stated that "despite their lowly status, these communities play a large and important part in the life of the Presidency. It is they who furnish the backbone of agricultural labour in the chief rice-growing districts. In one form or another they have been the victims of an agrestic serfdom wherever they have been."⁸⁷ Though they are included in the Hindu society, they do not form its integral part; but are for all practical purposes the exploited who can claim no social amenities.

They are considered as human 'machines' but not human beings meant to work and toil without social dignities. The depressed class is a most shameful blot on the Hindu community. It is observed about them that "it cannot be said that the social disabilities under which these communities labour are in sight of extinction despite the growth of tolerance and the inevitable effect of the development of communications and of urban life. Communities cannot yet be said even to have altered appreciably in outlook."⁸⁸ Social disabilities persist even so far that resentment at special consideration is shown to the depressed classes in land assignment and other directions. It remains, however, an indication of the true position in the rural areas where they are most represented.⁸⁹

Certain castes of the depressed classes are branded with the stigma of 'distance pollution.'⁹⁰ That is to say that their approach only pollutes the people of the 'higher' castes. Human pollution through 'distance' is a social fact of the Presidency; but the 'contact' pollution is also its chief characteristic feature.⁹¹ The discrimination between the depressed classes and the 'higher' caste people is the most galling aspect of social life in the Presidency.⁹² Untouchability is the social evil that can only go with the complete overhauling of the order of Hindu society. The 'ameliorative' activities on the part of the liberal-minded Hindus are only 'local' expressions; but "signs for any general desire to come to grips with the problem, we must wait yet awhile."⁹³ The great opposition for the social uplift of the depressed classes comes from the quarters of "the most recently promoted who are most severe on the underdog."⁹⁴ This clearly shows that the cry of the educated Hindus,

for social advance in regard to the depressed classes, is a cry in the wilderness and the Hindu society seems to have a dead conscience and will not move or agitate in matters of social laws and customs. Thus the depressed classes are fated to Hindu serfdom and bondage. These classes of humanity are being deluded in the vain hope of saving their face by changing caste names. It is aptly remarked that "there is something infinitely pathetic in the vain idea that a change of name can reverse the stigma of centuries; yet this community would apparently retort to Juliet that all lies in name."⁹⁵

Primitive Tribes

"The primitive tribes," it is observed, "represent the conquered in an impact of civilizations."⁹⁶ They retain a separate existence in the remoter and more inaccessible tracts of the Presidency. Their total number is 348,763. It is stated that the frontier between animistic and tribal religions and Hinduism can never be drawn because Hindu influence is detected in every tribal religion in the Presidency. The 'catholicity of Hinduism' works to absorb the primitive tribes into Hinduism, but the Census Report discloses the fact that the tribal numbers were reduced with a view to enhancing Hindu numbers.⁹⁷ The non-recognition of the tribal religion by the enumerators has indirectly resulted in classifying the tribal classes as Hindu. If the tribal number is calculated on tribal basis, it comes to 1,300,000 in the Presidency.⁹⁸ It is a moot question whether the tribes can be considered as Hindu despite some Hindu influence on their life. The Presidency also shows marked signs of animistic beliefs in the Hindu community. Does it follow that the Hindus are tribal? The way in which

the Hindu community is trying to secure a consolidated position as a political community by absorbing non-Hindu elements is crooked. The general tendency seems to form a centralized Hindu idea of a 'sub-nationality' on the community basis for all the members of Hindu society, irrespective of social differentiation or religious sects.⁹⁹ This has a political bearing.¹⁰⁰

The problem of the tribes is not the problem of the Hindu community but their own. Their position in the Presidency cannot be determined by the Hindu community and the question of their socio-political importance has to be decided by them.

Muslims

The Presidency has a fairly large number of Muslims (3,332,157) but their actual distribution in all provincial areas, except Malabar, makes them a microscopic community. In the Malayalam area Muslims are 32 per cent of the total population; but elsewhere they are only 10 per cent.¹⁰¹ "The Madras Presidency," it is observed, "knows, except Malabar, no real Hindu-Muslim question, for where one has so overwhelming a superiority, little effective contest can arise."¹⁰² Muslims in Malabar are represented by Mappilla and he is still, in contradistinction to his co-religionists in other districts, mainly a land worker.¹⁰³ The other Muslims of the Presidency are town-dwellers. Actually though Muslims are found throughout Malabar, their presence in force is essentially a feature of the south.¹⁰⁴

It is stated that "they are about three-fifths of the population of Ernad taluk, over two-fifths in Ponnari, over a third in Kurumbranad and over a fourth in Waller-vanad. Of the total population of the four southern

taluks of the district (excluding the detached Cochin and the easterly Palghat) they form 42 per cent and have to such an extent by their turbulent history and distinctive character stamped their impress upon it that the region or certainly the first two taluks might, following the usual Malabar location, will be termed Mappilanad. The comparatively stronger Muhammadan element in South Kanara is mainly a feature of the south of the district (Muslims form over a fourth of the population of Kasaragod taluk) and is also Mappilla."¹⁰⁵ The weakest Muslim and strongest Hindu elements are found in the two most northerly district, Ganjam and Vizagapatam.¹⁰⁶ The Labbai Muslim and allied sections are mainly represented in south-east Madras.¹⁰⁷

Muslims of the Presidency belong to different cultural and linguistic groups. The South Kanara Mappilla differs in many ways from his homonym of South Malabar and probably came originally from a different Hindu stock.¹⁰⁸ The Muslim element in the Ceded Districts, especially Bellary and Karnool, is representative of a Hyderabad cultural stamp.¹⁰⁹ Even in the southern Circar districts Muslims are of Hyderabad origin.¹¹⁰ The Labbai and allied sections are of Hindu extraction and speak the mothertongue, as in the South Malabar, of his Hindu origin.¹¹¹ Tamil or Malayalam is the mothertongue of Muslims, though a desire to claim a knowledge of Urdu is growing.¹¹² In the south-east of Tinnevely small sects of Islam, claiming an Arabian origin, are endogamous.¹¹³ The Muslim community of the Presidency is much influenced by Hindu social life.¹¹⁴ "The Madras Muslim," the Census writes, "is in some ways as peculiar as the Tinnevely Hindu in his departures from orthodoxy.

Community of origin has led to Hindu survivals in South Indian Muslim ceremonial and to a certain tolerance or even acceptance of Muhammadan customs by Hindus of the lower sort. Inevitably, however, the Hindu element is vastly more prominent in South Indian Islam than *vice versa*. Stricter Muslims are infrequently shocked by some of the departures from the stern creed; but in South India they remain so far a voice in the wilderness. The peculiar self-sufficiency which the South Indian and especially the Tamil shows in his emigration, in his political activities and in his languages, finds expression also in the sphere of religion and Islam in South India will always retain something specially South Indian in its composition. There is no essential reason why Hindus and Muhammadans should not live in amity and in South India they have advanced further towards this than elsewhere. It is probably because Islam in South India is less of an exotic and is more essentially Indian, drawing some inspiration at least from the locality."¹¹⁵ The Presidency helped in the blending of Hindu and Muslim cultures. The Hindu accretions and observances in the Muslim life of the Presidency are due to the natural consequence of cultural integration. The vast Muslim majority of the Presidency is of Hindu extraction, and Hindu customs and traditions have been a Muslim legacy.

There is a growing consciousness in the Muslims of the Presidency for the consolidation of Muslim community.¹¹⁶ That the complete disruption of the Muslim sectional denominations has been a social fact is doubtful. The Census Report of the Presidency has ignored to depict the sectional life of various communities; but one thing becomes glaring that Hindus, Muslims and Christians are after solidifying their own communities.

The personal element in religion is subordinated to the communal; but there are no strong indications for the formation of a unified community of each religion on the basis of no sects or sections. In the 'sub-nationality' idea, political considerations are at work.¹¹⁷

Christians

The total strength of Christians of the Presidency is 1,793,742. In all natural divisions, Christians have increased at a rate over the population growth, but the disparity is least in the west and south and greatest in the north, where the Christian rate is four times the population rate in the Deccan, above four in the East Coast North and five times in the Agency.¹¹⁸ Guntur is now the most Christian district of the Presidency having ousted Tinnevely from a long predominance.¹¹⁹ It may be mentioned in this connection that Guntur and Tinnevely are easily the strongest districts from the Christian point of view; but the relative weakness of the Christian element is throughout.¹²⁰ Rivalry and faction between various churches are common and even in political matters these come to a head and segregate the Christian community into separate sects as socio-political entities.¹²² Thus there is no actual feeling of togetherness or oneness in the Christian community of the Presidency, though the South India United Church is attempting to bring about the Christian unification.¹²³

Other Religions

There are other religions also in the Presidency. Brahmo, Arya Samaj, Radhaswami are North Indian importations, which have taken little root in the soil of the Presidency.¹²⁴ The Arya Samajists are most active in the work of proselytization.¹²⁵ There are only 31,000 Jains.¹²⁶

Literacy

Of the major Provinces of India the Madras Presidency leads in the matter of literacy.¹²⁷ It has 16 per cent of the males and 2.50 per cent of the females literate.¹²⁸ The figures for literacy (all ages) by natural divisions is tabled below:¹²⁹

<i>Natural Division</i>	<i>Literate per 10,000 all ages</i>	
	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
Madras	1,610	258
East Coast North	1,150	195
Deccan	1,124	104
East Coast Central	1,607	249
East Coast South	2,299	299
West Coast	2,144	579
Cities	4,202	1,378

The Presidency literacy proportion by religion is given below:¹³⁰

<i>Religion</i>	<i>Literate per 10,000 all ages</i>	
	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
All Religions	1,610	258
Hindu	1,561	224
Muslim	1,931	177
Christian	2,370	1,238
Tribal	53	2
Jain	5,539	864

The figures of literacy by religion go up in each religion on the basis of age-groups (0—10, 10—15, 15—20, and 20 and over).¹³¹ Broadly speaking, the Hindu literacy in both sexes increases as one goes from north to south

and round to the west, the Deccan being a backward pocket on the flank.¹³² This does not hold good for other communities except Christians who too show literacy least in the Deccan and north and greatest in the west.¹³³ The artificial conditions of Madras city disturb the literacy quotas of smaller communities and make the East Coast Central prominent.¹³⁴ Even so, for Muslim males the East Coast South, the home of the Labbai, takes just place.¹³⁵

Literacy in English is 220 for males and 30 for females per 10,000 of population.¹³⁶ Its proportion by natural divisions is as follows:¹³⁷

<i>Natural Division</i>	<i>English Literate per 10,000 of population</i>	
	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
Agency	33	1
East Coast North	168	12
Deccan	117	11
East Coast Central	272	46
East Coast South	258	25
West Coast	276	66

Literacy in English by religion is tabled below:¹³⁸

<i>Religion</i>	<i>Literate in English per 10,000</i>	
	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
All Religions	220	30
Hindu	199	14
Muslim	189	9
Christian	783	452
Tribal	1	..
Jain	559	21

A comparative table of general literacy and literacy in English by selected castes is given below for information:¹³⁹

<i>Castes</i>	<i>Literacy by Castes</i>			
	<i>Literate per 1,000</i>		<i>Literate in English per 10,000</i>	
	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
Brahman, Kanarese	774	216	2,888	146
„ Malayalam	758	345	1,727	162
„ Oriya	584	62	784	26
„ Tamil	876	385	4,475	309
„ Telugu	792	243	2,989	109
Arya Vaisya (Komati)	615	64	354	12
Boya	31	3	21	2
Golla	45	3	40	1
Kalingi	103	3	63	1
Kallan	235	8	98	3
Maravan	203	7	74	3
Nayar	552	214	867	106
Seugundar	359	30	179	10
Telaga	149	25	220	8
Vanniyan	150	7	78	..
Visvabrahman, Tamil	354	23	123	7
„ Telugu	314	35	157	5
Yadava	160	11	135	8
Labbai	438	27	240	6

The depressed classes and the primitive tribes show a very poor literacy.¹⁴⁰ To sum up, “Tamil Brahmans lead in all literacy, ordinary and English, their lead being particularly marked in English. Other Brahmans except Oriya are also well advanced in English literacy as compared with other castes, the Telugu and Kanarese branches, coming next to the Tamil. The West Coast in literacy as in many other ways is an exception to the

ordinary run. Elsewhere the tendency is for Brahmans to be far ahead; on the West Coast their lead is slight. The Nayar figures show this body as for both sexes far ahead of all the non-Brahman castes except the Komatis."¹⁴¹ Sixty-one per cent of Komatis and 44 per cent of Labbai males aged 7 and above are literate.¹⁴² Weavers and Artisan castes have a higher level of literacy than ordinary cultivating non-Brahman castes.¹⁴³ The high apparent literacy for the Agency Muslims and to a less extent Christians reflects their small total figures.¹⁴⁴ Muslims in these regions are mostly traders and consequently tend to be more literate than their co-religionists elsewhere.¹⁴⁵ The general higher literacy for Muslim males than Hindus in the Circars and East Coast Central and South to some extent shows their differing positions.¹⁴⁶

Languages

The Presidency is "one of the most polyglot of India's great administrative divisions, for apart from English no fewer than five highly developed languages, each with its own character, literature and traditions, have to be used in its administration."¹⁴⁷ There are other languages also that are spoken in the Presidency, but their importance is slight. All the languages of the Presidency are not determined by their linguistic frontiers. It is a fact that the Presidency is composed of areas that once belonged to the Central Provinces, Hyderabad, Bombay and Mysore. The linguistic complexity is due to the absorption of these areas by the Presidency for administrative purposes. The linguistic problem of the Presidency has thus been complicated. The languages that are spoken in those areas belong to

their original homes. It is remarked that "the map is strictly speaking not complete without the corresponding maps of the Central Provinces, Hyderabad, Bombay and Mysore. This applies particularly to the Telugu frontier. The most southerly district of the Central Provinces has Telugu as one of its mothertongues. The same remark applies much more strongly to Hyderabad, the majority of whose population have Telugu as their mothertongue. The Kanarese border must be followed into Mysore, Hyderabad and Bombay for a complete survey."¹⁴⁸ The question of the Telugu and Kanarese languages cannot be considered as a settled fact, unless the Telugu and Kanarese-speaking areas are sliced off and joined to their particular linguistic borders. In the same way the Ganjam District and Vizagapatam Agency enclose linguistic areas within which 50 per cent of the people speak Oriya or Telugu as their mother-tongue or in which neither of these mothertongues reach 50 per cent.¹⁴⁹ Telugu's persistence as a coastal feature is marked and on the Coast it runs up to the mouth of the Rushikulya river.¹⁵⁰ In some ways the Rushikulya river system (down to the Godohodo river) marks the southern boundary of the truly Oriya region and on the west the Oriya boundary roughly coincides with the Agency boundary, overlapping on to the plains in the north and into the Agency on the south.¹⁵¹ The cleavage in Vizagapatam Agency is of interest because in the low Agency plains languages are more intrusions following the lines of communications; but in the Upper Agency of Naurangpur, Jeypore and Koraput taluks Oriya is an established fact.¹⁵² Towards the south of Vizagapatam Agency Telugu strengthens and in Qudem, Viravilli and the south part of Padwa is supreme.¹⁵³

The Telugu-Kanarese question is the Telugu-Kanarese frontier within the Presidency in the north along the course of the river, Hagari and its tributary, the Chinna Hagari; but Anantapur with the exception of the western part of Madakasira falls within the Telugu line.¹⁵⁴

Telugu

A remarkable feature of Telugu is its persistence throughout the region between the Western and Eastern Ghats.¹⁵⁵ Telugu retains throughout an appreciable, not a majority, element in the whole of the Tanjore District, Pudukkottai State, the Ramnad and Sivaganga Zamindaries and Tinnevely south of the Tambraparni river.¹⁵⁶ It has no hold on the southern taluks of South Arcot.¹⁵⁷ As a rule its course is capricious; but it has a marked tendency to follow the higher ground and shows preference for the black soils similar to those of the Ceded Districts.¹⁵⁸ The deltaic or coastal belts are practically free of Telugu.¹⁵⁹ The Telugu speaking population is 37.50 per cent of the Presidency population or 3,768 per 10,000 of the total population.¹⁶⁰

Kanarese

It is a language of the uplands and its Madras manifestations cling to the fringes of the Mysore Plateau.¹⁶¹ Kanarese is spoken by 4 per cent in the Madras Presidency or 366 persons per 10,000 of the total population.¹⁶² Kanarese as a mothertongue is most prominent in the western taluks of Bellary, the tip of Kalyandrug and most of Madakasira, Sandur State, the south-western half of Hosur and the northern taluk of Coimbatore; all of them adjoin Mysore.¹⁶³ It can have no claim on the

Presidency as a language as its centre is in Mysore State and the Madras Kanarese areas are in fact widely separated fragments, the natural associations of which are more with the Mysore Plateau than with the Carnatic or other Madras Plain.¹⁶⁴

Tamil

The Madras Presidency is the homeland of three of the chief members of the Dravidian family or languages, Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam.¹⁶⁵ Nearly 92 per cent of the Provincial population speak a Dravidian mothertongue.¹⁶⁶ The linguistic line of Tamil is simplest and its presence as a mothertongue is practically confined to the Presidency.¹⁶⁷ Among all the languages the largest individual contributor is Tamil with 40 per cent.¹⁶⁸ The number per 10,000 of population who speak Tamil is 4,013.¹⁷⁰

Malayalam

The Malayalam zone virtually includes Cochin and Travancore States, but the extreme southern ghats of Cochin and Shencotta protrusion of Travancore to the east of the Ghats are monopolized by Tamil.¹⁷¹ The northern frontier of Malayalam reaches up the Kanara coast nearly to Mangalore and thence follows inland roughly the course of the Netravati river including all Kasaragod taluk and the coastal beaches of Mangalore.¹⁷² The percentage of the Malayalam speaking population is 7.9 in the Madras Presidency.¹⁷³

Tulu

The homeland of the Tulu speakers is Tuluva and their number is 361,623 or 1.2 per cent of the pro-

vincial population speaks Tulu.¹⁷⁴ It pervades the central taluks of Kanara and has no provincial importance. Even in the South Kanaras, Konkani as the mother-tongue of over 2,00,000 and Marathi of nearly 50,000 are spoken and these cannot be localized but are spread throughout the district.¹⁷⁵ Kanarese, Tulu, Malayalam all penetrate into Coorg, a kind of linguistic cross-roads.¹⁷⁶

Hindi

The Hindi language is an exotic for the Presidency, though much propaganda by various bodies is being done to 'stabilize' it; but Tamil and Telugu can never be ousted by its presence. The chief district contributors are Madras, Kistna and Coimbatore and almost a half of the provincial total is found in Madras city and the Kistna District.¹⁷⁷ It is a fruitless attempt to popularize Hindi in the Madras Presidency.

Hindustani (Hindi-Cum-Urdu)

Though it is claimed that it has made progressive strides in the Presidency, the Hindustani-speaking percentage is only 2.50 on the provincial basis.¹⁷⁸ Hindustani yields the next large portion using subsidiary languages, but the Hindustani-speaking community is a uniformly minority community.¹⁷⁹ Hindustani speakers are found in every district in the Presidency, their strongest representation being in Guntur, Kurnool, Cuddapah, North Arcot, Bellary and Anantapur; but nowhere they are a majority and they are a community largely engaged in trade and negotiation generally and a continual use of other languages is for them an essentiality.¹⁸⁰ It is stated that the popularity of subsidiary

languages among them indicates the chief range of the mothertongues: Telugu claiming 445/406 per 1,000; Tamil 199/182.¹⁸¹ This fact indicates one great departure from the connection of Hindustani with Muslims, for the strongest Muslim district, Malabar, is one of the weakest in this mothertongue.¹⁸² Lambadi with 603/549 per 1,000 returning a subsidiary language is an instance of the same circumstances as affect Hindustani.¹⁸³ Fifty-eight per cent of Lambadi speakers are in Bellary and Anantapur.¹⁸⁴ The Muda languages contribute 50 speakers to every 10,000 in the Presidency.¹⁸⁵ They are mainly spoken in the Vizagapatam Agency. To consider them as the languages of the Presidency is not correct. They have more affinities with the Central Province than the Presidency.

The Indo-Aryan languages, the non-Asiatic languages and the European languages have a negligible number of speakers and are chiefly the languages of few immigrants of the Presidency.¹⁸⁶

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CHAPTER TENTH

THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

Area

The area of the Presidency of Bombay (including States and Agencies) is 151,593 square miles.¹ The total British districts' area is 123,599 square miles, while of Sind 46,378 square miles and of the Bombay States and Agencies 27,994 square miles.²

Natural and Administrative Divisions

The natural divisions of the Presidency consist of tracts whose physical features are more or less homogeneous.³ The North West Dry Area (Sind), Gujarat, the Deccan, the Konkan are its natural divisions.⁴ The Presidency is divided into five political divisions with their twenty-eight administrative units.

The following are the political divisions with their areas by districts :⁵

<i>Political Division</i>				<i>Area in square miles</i>	<i>District</i>
Sind	..	..	..	46,378	Hyderabad Karachi Larkhana Nawabshah Sukkur Thar and Parkar Upper Sind Frontier
Northern Division	..			13,615	Ahmedabad Broach Kaira Panch Mahals Surat Thana

<i>Political Division</i>			<i>Area in square miles</i>	<i>District</i>
Bombay city	..	..	24	..
Central Division	..	..	38,553	Ahmednagar
				Khandesh East
				Khandesh West
				Nasik
				Poona
				Satara
				Sholapur
				Bombay Suburban district
Southern Division	..	..	25,029	Belgaum
				Bijapur
				Dharwar
				Kanara
				Kolaba
				Ratnagiri

Population and Density

The total population of the Presidency is 26,347,519 and its density 173.⁶ The Presidency of Bombay is the largest in size, only fifth in respect of population and lower still in point of absolute density as compared with other parts of India.⁷ The population of the British districts is 21,838,413.⁸ The following are the population figures by natural divisions:⁹

<i>Natural Division</i>						<i>Population</i>
North-West Dry Area (Sind)	..	..	..	..	..	3,449,683
Gujarat	..	..	..	..	..	3,222,767
Deccan	..	..	..	..	..	10,229,818
Konkan	..	..	..	..	..	4,507,264

Urban Population

The urban population of the Presidency is distributed in various ways in units comprising cities, towns and

suburbs.¹⁰ Its total is 5,509,348 or 20·9 per cent of the total population.¹¹ But the proportion of urban population of the Presidency drops from 20·9 per cent to 13·4 per cent if the population of the four large cities (1,988,924)—Bombay, Ahmedabad, Karachi and Poona—is not taken into account for ascertaining to what extent the population of the Presidency lives in towns.¹² The distribution of urban population in the classification of towns is given below :¹³

I

<i>Classification of Towns</i>	<i>Population (urban)</i>	<i>Percentage to total population</i>
100,000 and over	144,654	0·5
50,000-100,000	486,581	1·8
20,000-50,000	937,425	3·6
10,000-20,000	915,311	3·2
5,000-10,000	216,504	0·8
<i>Total population</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
26,347,519	3,536,726	13·4

II

The Presidency of Bombay

<i>Class</i>	<i>Number of Towns</i>	<i>Population</i>
Over 100,000	5	2,061,906
50,000-100,000	6	486,581
20,000-50,000	30	973,232
10,000-20,000	62	852,025
5,000-10,000	128	915,311
Under 5,000	64	220,293
<i>Total</i>	295	5,509,348

Of the 295 towns in the Presidency of Bombay (including States and Agencies) only 11 exceed 50,000 in population and only 5 of these have more than 100,000 inhabitants.¹⁴ By far the commonest size of town is that with a population of from 5,000 to 10,000 of which there are 128.¹⁵ Towns with a population of between 10,000 and 20,000 number 62.¹⁶ Only 30 towns have a population between 20,000 and 50,000.¹⁷

Despite large towns and cities and the political and commercial influence, the Presidency as a whole is making but little headway in urbanization.¹⁸ A relatively small proportion of the population lives in towns with a population of between 50,000 and 100,000.¹⁹ In other words, 37·4 per cent of urban population lives in towns with a population of 100,000 and over and only 8·8 per cent in towns with a population of between 50,000 and 100,000 and a bare 4 per cent in towns with a population of under 5,000.²⁰ It is stated that "urbanization is not to be confused with industrialization. Urbanization has progressed further in Bombay Presidency than in any other Province in India; but it is less in Bombay Presidency than in the Western India States Agency (22·1%) and in Baroda State (21·4%), where conditions are nearly similar in part to those prevailing in Kathiawar and in part to those prevailing in British Gujarat."²¹ Industrialization as a factor in urbanizing areas has so far affected to any marked degree only Bombay, Ahmedabad, Sholapur, Viramgam and to some extent Hubli in the Presidency.²² Industry otherwise where it exists is mostly cottage industry which flourishes in small towns and helps to make them to some extent self-supporting.²³ The process of urbanization breaks small villages in order to form them into large villages and raises their status as

towns; but it is a moot point whether the Presidency can augment the tendency of urbanization when its possibilities of growth are limited by the extent of agricultural hinterland which they control and the volume of trade that can be transacted in that area.²⁴ It is asserted with a view to favouring urbanization that "without the development of large-scale industry in an agricultural country the towns tend to be of the market town type."²⁵ But the Presidency, like other Provinces of India, is an agricultural country and its 'urbanization' has much to depend upon its agricultural features which have to determine rather than be determined by factors of urbanization or industrialization. The whole movement of industrial organization in India has been sporadic. It has not taken in account the fact that India's need is different from the need of the countries of the West. To inaugurate an economic system for the well-being of India, it is but essential to fathom the real nature of her economic life. India as a whole cannot be industrialized on a large-scale. If it were to suit her 'temperament,' it would be in the nature of an agricultural, industrial and economic planning on the basis of small-scale industries. As we all know India is a land of villages and to 'industrialize' her villages by disrupting them into large and colossal urban units is to complicate her economic problems more than to solve them in the interest of her economic prosperity and progress. The urbanized few 'high spots' on the map of India are signs of an economic eruption.

Though the Presidency claims a high rank in urbanization in the whole of India, the statistical figures are so glaringly obvious in proving that it is still a rural country.

Urban Population by Religion

The distribution of urban population by religion is intricately fascinating subject of study. The Presidency discloses the fact that the various communities in urban areas react on one another and help to complicate the politico-economic struggle. The Hindu population swamps the Muslim in all but a few towns.²⁶ In Sind, in particular, Hindus constitute the greater part of urban population despite the vast preponderance of Muslims in Sind as a whole.²⁷ The concentration of Zoroastrians in a few localities only is a fact that cannot be ignored.²⁸ The concentration of Christians in certain urban areas, their dispersion in others and nearly their total absence elsewhere, are obvious facts.²⁹ The Jain population shows features of distribution very similar to that of the Christian, that is, it presents features of concentration and features of dispersion.³⁰ No other religions are of any numerical importance in urban population of the Presidency.³¹

The religious composition of urban population by natural divisions, districts and States is tabled below:³²

<i>Natural Divisions, Districts, States and Agencies</i>	<i>Thousands omitted</i>					
	<i>Hindu</i>	<i>Mus- lim</i>	<i>Jain</i>	<i>Zoro- astrian</i>	<i>Chris- tian</i>	<i>Tri- bal</i>
Bombay Presidency	3,850	1,198	84	81	192	5
Sind	379	293	1	3	15	..
Northern Division	547	213	20	10	17	4
Central Division ..	1,097	237	23	9	54	1
Southern Division ..	554	145	8	1	20	..
Bombay city ..	790	209	12	58	81	..
British districts ..	3,367	1,099	64	81	187	5
Bombay States and Agencies	483	99	20	..	5	..

It follows that the Central Division is the area where the Hindu predominance is greatest and Sind where it is least.³³ But even in Sind the urban Hindus outnumber the urban Muslims by over 29 per cent.³⁴ This is in striking contrast with the rural population of Sind where Muslims exceed Hindus thrice.³⁵ The Sind Hindu is mostly a town dweller and the Sind Muslim chiefly a villager.³⁶ This fact raises political problems of some complexity in Sind. In the Presidency proper Muslims are largely represented in the Northern Division; but there is some tendency in the part of the Muslim population for town dwelling.³⁷ The Muslim aptitude for urban life is due to urban pursuits in which a large number of Muslims are engaged in the Presidency proper.³⁸ Over the whole Presidency, Hindus outnumber Muslims in towns by more than 3 to 1.³⁹ The Christian urban population in the Presidency is more numerous than the Jain and Zoroastrian.⁴⁰ The Christians are the largest in the Bombay city and in the Central Division.⁴¹ The Jain community is most numerous in the Central Division, where the Satara District provides the largest individual contribution and in the Northern Division.⁴² The Zoroastrians show extreme concentration nearly six-eighths of the total number being in Bombay city, one-eighth in the Northern Division and one-ninth in the Central Division.⁴³

In the Presidency for every 698 Hindus, there are 228 Muslims, 40 Christians, 17 Zoroastrians, 13 Jains and 4 of all other religions.⁴⁴ There are 27 Jains per mille of urban population in Gujarat.⁴⁵ 39 Zoroastrians and 173 Christians per mille of urban population are in the Konkan.⁴⁶ In these regions Jains, Zoroastrians and Christians respectively return their highest figures.⁴⁷

In the following table the urban population is shown by administrative divisions and districts for Hindus, Muslims, Zoroastrians and Christians and the proportion which the Hindu population bears to the Muslim is also given in brackets.⁴⁸

<i>Administrative Divisions and Districts</i>	<i>Hindu</i>	<i>Mus- lim</i>	<i>Zoroas- trian</i>	<i>Chris- tian</i>
SIND	379 (1.29)	293	3	15
Hyderabad	83 (1.8)	46	..	1
Karachi	131 (0.96)	136	3	13
Larkhana	30 (1.03)	29	..	..
Nawabshah	20 (2.2)	9	..	..
Sukkur	96 (1.55)	62	..	1
Thar and Parkar	10 (2.5)	62	..	..
Upper Sind Frontier	8 (1.0)	8	..	..
NORTH DIVISION ..	547 (2.56)	213	10	17
Ahmedabad	220 (2.5)	88	1	4
Broach	44 (2.1)	21	2	1
Kaira	92 (3.54)	26	..	4
Panch Mahals	38 (1.36)	28	..	1
Surat	97 (2.94)	33	7	2
Thana	56 (3.5)	16	1	7
CENTRAL DIVISION ..	1,097 (4.62)	237	9	54
Ahmednagar	76 (5.85)	13	..	6
Khandesh (East) ..	224 (3.61)	62	..	2
Khandesh (West) ..	78 (3.9)	20	..	1
Nasik	111 (3.0)	37	1	5
Poona	251 (7.17)	35	3	17
Satara	94 (7.23)	13	..	1
Sholapur	193 (4.95)	39	..	3
BOMBAY SUBURBAN DISTRICT	70 (3.89)	18	3	19
SOUTHERN DIVISION ..	554 (3.82)	145	1	20
Belgaum	96 (4.0)	24	..	4
Bijapur	82 (3.04)	27	..	1
Dharwar	205 (3.01)	68	..	7
Kanara	53 (4.82)	11	..	5
Kolaba	41 (6.83)	6	..	..
Ratnagiri	77 (7.0)	11	..	3
BOMBAY STATES AND AGENCIES	483 (4.88)	99	..	5

These figures show that only in Karachi does the Muslim urban population exceed the Hindu. In the Upper Sind Frontier the Hindu and Muslim numbers are evenly balanced. Hindus mostly predominate in Satara, Poona, Ratnagiri and Kolaba. Apart from Sind, only in the Panch Mahals is the Hindu urban population less than thrice as numerous as the Muslim. Elsewhere the Hindu urban population varies from twice to over seven times the Muslim urban population. To classify the above statement the table below shows the Hindu proportion by Muslim percentage in urban areas by districts:⁴⁹

Hindus per 100 Muslims in

<i>District</i>	<i>Urban areas</i>
Sind	129
Hyderabad	180
Karachi	96
Larkhana	105
Nawabshah	235
Sukkur	155
Thar and Parkar	272
Upper Sind Frontier	101
<i>Northern Division</i>	257
Ahmedabad	251
Broach	208
Kaira	305
Panch Mahals	133
Surat	294
Thana	340
<i>Central Division</i>	462
Ahmednagar	563
Khandesh (East)	360
Khandesh (West)	394
Nasik	297
Poona	713
Satara	717
Sholapur	502

<i>District</i>	<i>Urban areas</i>
<i>Bombay Suburban District</i>	396
<i>Southern Division</i>	381
Belgaum	406
Bijapur	306
Dharwar	303
Kanara	504
Kolaba	703
Ratnagiri	694
<i>Bombay States and Agencies</i>	488

The following is the list of towns according to the Hindu and Muslim importance:⁵⁰

I. Towns in the Presidency proper in which the Muslim population is 50 per cent or over of the total: (1) Bhatkal (2) Bhiwandi (3) Malegaon (4) Modasa (5) Godhra (6) Savasur.

II. Towns in the Presidency in which the Muslim population is between 33 and 50 per cent of the total: (1) Dhanduka (2) Kapadwanj (3) Mahudha (4) Rander (5) Jamner (6) Kasoda (7) Tailkot (8) Bankapur (9) Hangal (10) Shiggaon (11) Rajapur.

III. Towns in Sind in which the Hindu population is 50 per cent or over of the total: (1) Hyderabad (2) Tando-Allahyar (3) Tando Mohomed Khan (4) Manjhand (5) Bubak (6) Larkhana (7) Ratodero (8) Nawabshah (9) Shahadapur (10) Tando Adam (11) Ghotki (12) Ghazi-Yasin (13) Rohri (14) Shikarpur (15) Sukkur.

IV. Towns in Sind in which the Hindu population is between 33 and 50 per cent of the total. (1) Karachi (2) Kotri (3) Tatta (4) Dadu (5) Kambar (6) Sehwan (7) Jacobabad.

Rural Population by Religion

In Sind for every 100 Muslims in rural areas there are only 25 Hindus and in the Presidency the number of Hindus in rural areas greatly exceeds the number of Muslims.⁶⁰ The rural figures for the Northern Division are 1,465 Hindus per 100 Muslims; for the Central Division 2,460 Hindus per 100 Muslims; for the Bombay States and Agencies 1,088 Hindus per 100 Muslims; for the Southern Division 1,173 Hindus per 100 Muslims.⁶¹ This shows that the Muslims of the Presidency proper are chiefly town-dwellers whereas in Sind the reverse is the case.

The distribution of rural population by districts is an interesting item of information.⁶²

Hindus per 100 Muslims in rural areas

<i>District</i>							<i>Rural areas</i>
Hyderabad	..	..	..	..	..	..	28
Karachi	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Larkhana	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
Nawabshah	..	..	..	..	..	..	26
Sukkur	..	..	..	..	..	..	22
Thar and Parkar	..	..	..	..	..	..	86
Upper Sind Frontier	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Ahmedabad	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,164
Broach	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,164
Kaira	..	..	..	..	..	..	339
Panch Mahals	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,123
Surat	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,701
Thana	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,303
Ahmednagar	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,183
Khandesh (East)	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,297
Khandesh (West)	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,217
Nasik	..	..	..	..	..	..	4,300
Poona	..	..	..	..	..	..	4,125
Satara	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,446
Sholapur	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,769
Bombay Suburban	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,394

<i>District</i>	<i>Rural areas</i>
Belgaum	1,194
Bijapur	861
Dharwar	792
Kanara	1,572
Kolaba	2,190
Ratnagiri	1,492
<i>Bombay States and Agencies</i>	1,088

Occupational Distribution

In all the occupational pursuits in the Presidency the numerical strength of the principal earners and working dependents is 8,482,404.⁶³ The following table shows the number of persons engaged in all sub-classes as principal earners and working dependents and the percentage to total earners and working dependents :⁶⁴

<i>Occupation (by sub-class)</i>	<i>Principal earners and working dependents</i>	<i>Percentage to total earners and working dependents</i>
Exploitation of animals and vegetation	5,591,033	65·9
Exploitation of minerals	9,650	0·1
Industry	1,011,583	11·9
Transport	194,502	2·3
Trade	454,386	5·3
Public force	60,916	0·7
Public administration	132,079	1·6
Professions and liberal arts	144,878	1·7
Persons living on their income	22,946	0·3
Domestic service	179,994	2·1
Insufficiently-described occupations ..	495,003	5·9
Unproductive	185,434	2·2

The above figures reveal the fact that for every 100 workers employed 65·9 are engaged in the exploitation of animals and vegetation; 4·9 in industry; 5·3 in

trade; 5.9 in insufficiently described occupations. No other sub-class of occupation contributes more than 2.3 per cent of the number of those employed. It may be of some interest to note that the percentage in the exploitation of animals and vegetation is highest in the Bombay States and Agencies (77) and lowest in Sind (59).⁶⁵ The percentage in industry as an occupational sub-class is highest in the Konkan (13) and lowest in the Bombay States and Agencies (8).⁶⁶ In the sub-class occupation, trade, the percentage is highest in Sind (7) and in the Konkan (7) and lowest in the Bombay States and Agencies.⁶⁷ The percentage in the sub-class occupation, unproductive, is highest in Sind (6).⁶⁸

Agriculture

The predominance of agriculture as an occupation of the people in the Presidency is glaringly obvious on the basis of occupational statistics. The vast majority of earners is engaged in the exploitation of animals and vegetation.⁶⁹ In other words, 683 workers per mille of employed population are engaged in agricultural pursuits.⁷⁰ The total number of persons employed in this sub-class of occupation is 7,330,171 as principal earners, working dependents and subsidiary workers out of a total employed population of 10,841,527.⁷¹ Of this number 6,856,389 are employed in ordinary cultivation and 18,921 more are engaged in the cultivation of special crops, fruit etc.⁷² Thus the total population employed as principal earners, working dependents and subsidiary workers in cultivation is 6,975,310 or 63 per cent of the employed population.⁷³ The table below shows the comparative strength of the agricultural groups with their percentage :⁷⁴

<i>Agricultural Group</i>	<i>Number of persons</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Non-cultivating proprietors taking rent in money or kind	247,645	3·6
Estate agents and managers of owners	16,110	0·2
Estate agents and managers of Government	1,853	0·03
Rent collectors, clerks etc.	3,941	0·06
Cultivating owners	1,212,352	17·6
Tenant-cultivators	1,636,402	23·8
Agricultural labourers	3,737,847	54·4
Cultivators of Jhum, Taungya and shifting areas	239	0·003
Cinchona cultivation	77	0·007
Cocoanut cultivation	256	
Coffee cultivation	11	
Pan-vine cultivation	110	
Tea, rubber growers	35	0·3
Market gardeners, flower and fruit growers	18,414	

The predominance of agriculture in the economic organization of the Presidency and the variety of ways in which it provides livelihood to the major portion of the population are undeniable facts.

Exploitation of Minerals

The Presidency is poor in mineral resources. Apart from the product of salt, saltpetre and other saline substances, mines and minerals give little employment in the Presidency.⁷⁵ The total strength of workers engaged in the exploitation of minerals is 13,882.⁷⁶ Of these 10,275 are engaged in the production of saline substances, mostly salt, 1,651 in producing building materials and 1,341 in manganese mining.⁷⁷

Industry

The industrial occupation is the second most important as well as fertile source of employment and

sustenance in the economic organization of the Presidency. Industry engages about one person in nine of the employed population and the number employed in industry is between a sixth and a seventh of the number employed in agriculture.⁷⁸ In other words, industry employs 4.4 per cent of the total population against 26.2 in agriculture.⁷⁹ It may be mentioned here that textiles, as the important single source of industrial occupation, provide work for 170 per 10,000 of the population and have 41.9 per cent of the employed workers in cities and urban industrial areas and 58.1 per cent in rural areas.⁸⁰ The total number of workers engaged in industry is 1,217,409.⁸¹ The following table gives an idea of the number of workers employed in the various industrial activities:⁸²

<i>Industry (by order)</i>	<i>Number of workers</i>	<i>Proportion of earners and working dependents per mille of the total earners and working dependents</i>
Textiles	402,408	47
Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom	17,846	2
Wood	101,025	12
Metals	38,462	5
Ceramics	55,425	7
Chemical products	22,655	3
Food industries	36,024	4
Dress and toilet	184,119	22
Furniture	4,638	1
Building	62,748	7
Construction of means of transport	1,948	..
Production and transmission of physical force	4,045	..
Miscellaneous and undefined industries	80,245	9

Industry as an economic organization has its main source of support in agricultural pursuit. Of the industrial earners and working dependents, 27·5 per cent of the number is found in cities and urban industrial areas and 72·5 per cent in rural areas.⁸³ The vast majority of the industrial workers is engaged in small industrial establishments mostly of the cottage type or in unorganized industries as artisans and many of these are closely connected with agriculture.⁸⁴ This clearly shows that even industry in the Presidency is greatly influenced by agriculture as an economic occupation.

The agricultural background of industry is a fact that cannot be ignored in the industrial planning of the Presidency. The large centres of industry do not suit the agricultural characteristics of the Presidency and it is in the fitness of things to break them into small interconnected rural industrial centres. The well-being of the economic life of the Presidency will mainly depend upon the way in which industry will adjust its organizational forms to agriculture. The localization of large industrial centres always will form an abnormal feature of industrial life in the Presidency. Industry can never thrive without the support of villages; but the breaking of villages for industrial purposes is a non-economic way of tackling the industrial problem. The present industrial tendency seems to work on the principle of non-recognition of the importance of villages as economic or industrial factors. Villages are the feeding bases of industry; but industry thrives on bleeding villages white. The shifting of industrial centres in villages is the most dire need of national economy. To ignore the industrial importance of rural areas in the planned economy is to work up a system of economic exploita-

tion. Thus the villages of the Presidency as potential units of industrial centres have to assume an indispensable rôle in determining industrial forms of activity.

Transport

Transport employs 219,176 workers of all kinds.⁸⁵ The chief items in this total are transport by water (64,868); transport by road (71,637); transport by rail 73,780; post office, telegraphs and telephones (8,846).⁸⁶

Trade

Trade as an occupation is a bad third to agriculture and industry.⁸⁷ Of the employed population of principal earners and working dependents, it engages 5·3 per cent as against 65·9 per cent engaged in the exploitation of animals and vegetation and 11·9 per cent in industry.⁸⁸ The actual number of all kinds of workers employed in trade for the Presidency is 559,554.⁸⁹ That is, only 53 per mille of the employed population are occupied in trade.⁹⁰ In trade, which contributes 197 earners and working dependents per 10,000 of the population, 25·3 per cent of the total are in cities and urban industrial areas and 74·7 per cent in rural areas.⁹¹ The following table gives the actual strength of workers engaged in different lines of trade:⁹²

<i>Trade (by order)</i>	<i>Actual number of principal earners and working de- pendents</i>
Banks, establishments of credit exchange and insurance	20,837
Brokerage, commission and export	10,464
Trade in textiles	18,780
Trade in skins, leathers and furs	7,125
Trade in wood	5,585
Trade in metals	1,582
Trade in pottery, bricks and tiles	1,201
Trade in chemical products	2,115
Hotels, cafés, restaurants etc.	33,842
Other trade foodstuffs	155,796
Trade in clothing and toilet articles	8,666
Trade in furniture	2,296
Trade in building materials	198
Trade in means of transport	10,171
Trade in fuel	19,450
Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters and arts and sciences	15,718
Trade, other sorts	173,129

In the occupational category of trade the overwhelming percentage of the employed population is found in rural areas.⁹³ The statistical data bear out that even the earners and working dependents in trade are mostly engaged in rural areas for their livelihood.⁹⁴

Public Administration and Liberal Arts

In the occupational distribution of public administration and the liberal arts the number of workers per 10,000 of the total population is 146 and their percentage is 27·8 in cities and urban industrial areas and 72·2 in rural areas.⁹⁵ There are 415,910 persons as workers of all kinds in public administration and the liberal arts.⁹⁶

To public force the army contributes 19,573 workers; to the police 34,210 and village watchmen 13,062.⁹⁷ 24 persons per 10,000 of the total population are engaged in public force and their percentage is 36.7 in cities and urban industrial areas and 63.3 in rural areas.⁹⁸ In public administration there are 78,490 employed by the State; 38,869 by municipal and local bodies and 48,131 are village officials and servants other than watchmen.⁹⁹ 59 persons per 10,000 of the total population earn their livelihood by public administration and their percentage is 30.2 in cities and urban industrial areas and 69.8 in rural areas.¹⁰⁰ In the professions and liberal arts, the number of workers per 10,000 of the total population is 63 with their percentage in cities and urban industrial areas (22) and in rural areas (78).¹⁰¹ The following is the table showing the numerical strength of workers in the professions and liberal arts:¹⁰²

<i>Profession (by order)</i>	<i>Actual Number</i>	<i>Number per 10,000 of total population</i>	<i>Percentage recorded</i>	
			<i>in cities & urban areas</i>	<i>in rural areas</i>
Religion	56,295	23	10.5	89.5
Law	8,340	3	42.7	57.5
Medicine	18,451	7	36.3	63.8
Instruction	42,179	18	7.6	92.4
Letters, arts and sciences	27,342	12	35.1	64.9

Miscellaneous Occupations

The total number of persons living on their incomes is 30,216 all kinds.¹⁰³ Of 10,000 total population, there are 394 persons who live on their incomes in the Presidency and their percentage is 24.5 in cities and urban

industrial areas and 75.5 in rural areas.¹⁰⁴ The domestic service employs 218,807 workers of all kinds.¹⁰⁵ They are 79 per 10,000 of total population and their percentage is 26.3 in cities and urban industrial areas and 73.7 in rural areas.¹⁰⁶ In the insufficiently-described occupations the number of workers amounts to 623,051.¹⁰⁷ Their number per 10,000 of total population is 227, while their percentage is 29.3 in cities and urban industrial areas and 70.7 in rural areas.¹⁰⁸ The number of persons (all kinds) obtaining a livelihood from unproductive occupations is 213,411.¹⁰⁹

Religion

The distribution of the population by religion in the Presidency is as follows:¹¹⁰

Religion	British Districts		Bombay States and Agencies	
	Population	Proportion per 1,000	Population	Proportion per 1,000
Hindu	16,618,157	762	3,921,062	878
Muslim	4,414,059	202	414,931	93
Christian ..	314,797	14	16,006	3
Jain	199,814	9	87,353	20
Tribal	129,135	6	25,903	5
Zoroastrian ..	89,199	4	1,468	
Sikh	20,883	3	714	1
Jew	13,588		929	
Buddhist ..	2,101		4	
Others	1,655		26	

The actual strength of main religions by natural divisions in urban and rural areas and their distribution are instructive as these statistical facts disclose the percentages of adherents of each main religion who live in the country and in towns.¹¹¹

I

<i>Natural Division</i>	<i>Hindu</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Jain</i>	<i>Christian</i>	<i>Zoroastrian</i>	<i>Tribal</i>
Gujarat	2,567,491	365,386	41,076	42,596	14,359	116,654
Konkan	3,840,490	416,737	21,354	168,576	64,881	198
Deccan	9,194,951	801,136	136,240	88,492	6,422	12,074
North-West Dry Area (Sind) ..	1,015,225	2,830,800	1,144	15,133	3,537	204

II

<i>Natural Division</i>	<i>Total Hindus</i>		<i>Total Muslims</i>		<i>Total Christians</i>		<i>Total Zoroastrians</i>	
	<i>Town</i>	<i>Country Percentage</i>	<i>Town</i>	<i>Country Percentage</i>	<i>Town</i>	<i>Country Percentage</i>	<i>Town</i>	<i>Country Percentage</i>
North-West Dry Area (Sind) ..	37.3	62.7	10.3	89.7	96.3	3.7	98.9	1.1
Gujarat	19.1	80.9	53.9	46.1	25.4	74.6	68.9	31.1
Deccan	15.3	84.7	42.1	57.9	52.3	47.7	95.7	4.3
Konkan	28.3	71.7	64.9	35.1	68.5	31.5	94.5	5.5

Hindus

The vast bulk of the population of the Presidency is Hindu. The Hindu community comprises the 'advanced,' 'the intermediate' 'the primitive,' 'the backward' and the 'depressed' sections, which are caste-graded.¹¹² To think of a casteless Hindu society in the Presidency is a make-believe. It is asserted that the caste system is yielding to the pressure of industrialism, to the increase of commerce and to the play of modern economic forces generally; but the fact remains that the Hindu social system has not been vulnerably attacked.¹¹³ The Hindu life persists through caste-organizations though a very negligible section of 'Hindus' influenced by western thought and ideology is defying the laws of caste.¹¹⁴ A sharp social tendency is perceptible in the Hindu society to discard rapidly the superficial restrictions of the caste system.¹¹⁵ Evident signs are visible in the form of shortening the distance of social inequalities. But it is not yet apparent that the main principles of the caste system have become distasteful to the bulk of the people.¹¹⁶

The caste governs the Presidency in socio-religious matters. Though the force of unification has spent itself out in the direction of integrating sub-caste divisions into main castes, the Hindu society has retained its social composition of caste and sub-castes and their divisions. The caste society of Hindus works through taboos and segregation. Social cohesion by contracting intra-communal marriages is a remote possibility.¹¹⁷ All castes, high or low, are exclusively grouped. There are 190 castes with their sub-castes and divisions among the 'advanced' Hindus.¹¹⁸ The 'intermediate' Hindus

have 250 castes and sub-caste sections.¹¹⁹ The 'backward' Hindus are distributed over 270 castes and their sub-castes.¹²⁰ The 'depressed' Hindus have 30 castes with their different stratifications.¹²¹ The close examination of the caste-texture of Hindu society 'in the Presidency is a sad revelation of the non-existence of an uniform system of social governance and control. The Hindu society is not distinctively vertical, but horizontally formed. The question of human gradation in the scale of social values is still determined by the make-weight of caste ordinance.

The Depressed Classes

The total strength of the depressed classes in the Presidency is 2,098,998, (of whom 1,750,424, equivalent to approximately 6·6 per cent of the total recorded population, reside in British territory).¹²² Their proportion on the basis of all-district population is 8 per cent.¹²³ The depressed classes are the 'untouchables' of the Hindu society.¹²⁴ The position of these castes in the Hindu social system is most despicable. These are denied the right of Hindu worship, debarred from forming any social contact with the 'touchable' castes and deprived of social amenities.¹²⁵ The iron bars of social discrimination are set up against the depressed classes.¹²⁶ The Hindu society has assigned these castes a 'niche' in their so-called social system; but virtually these have to 'function' for the existence of the caste Hindus. Socially, the depressed classes are non-social groupings of human beings, but economically the Hindu society exploits them to the fullest. It is in fact a social travesty that the depressed classes are considered as Hindus, but they are for all intents and purposes not the 'legitimate' members

of Hindu society and can claim no Hindu rights and privileges. The Hindu community in its eagerness to influence political issues or in its ardent desire to capture political power counts on the 'numerical' strength of the depressed 'Hindus' as their own brothers in faith. The Hindu religion or community welcomes the depressed classes in the game of politics; but it shuns to hinduize or detests to fraternize the 'Hindu' depressed people in its own social world. The idea of 'brotherhood' in politicizing the Hindu community by adding the 'numerals' of the depressed classes with a view to ensuring its political superiority and strength is an unpardonable crime. If the depressed classes had been real Hindus as 'privileged' Hindus, then the Hindus' claim to form a solid Hindu block on the strength of the depressed classes for its political solidarity could be justified. So long as the depressed people remain untouchables, outcastes, and non-human 'Hindu' creatures, the Hindu community has no legal or human right to claim them as their own. The depressed humanity is not a Hindu problem but a human problem of socio-political importance.

Primitive Tribes

The total numerical strength of the tribes is 155,038; but this is 'grossly underrated.'¹²⁷ The reason for the grave blunder in underestimating the total strength of the primitive tribes is the biased mind of the enumerator, whose tendency is to enter 'Hindu' without further enquiry, if an individual disclaims membership of any recognized religion and more particularly if an individual in question is undoubtedly a member of a tribe long established in the locality.¹²⁸ He is governed by a sole

that "this land is called Hindustan and is the country of the Hindus, and all who live in it must be Hindus unless they definitely claim a recognized religion."¹²⁹ The Census Report betrays the fact that "it is this feeling pulsing within the bosom of the average enumerator which inspires to record the Bhil, the Katkari, the Thakur and other aboriginal tribes as Hindus in spite of all injunctions to the contrary."¹³⁰ The Report further adds that "it is certain that the vast bulk of the Bhils, Katkaris and Thakurs in this Presidency are not Hindus."¹³¹ Though the tribal people are living in 'Hindu' villages, it is difficult to say that they have abandoned their primitive beliefs and adopted Hinduism in their place.¹³² It is aptly observed that "the process of assimilation is very slow, much slower than is commonly believed to be the case even in areas where individual members of the aboriginal tribes have descended into the plains and are brought into contact with all the influences of village life."¹³³ The fact is that "the vast bulk of these tribes neither acknowledge the accepted Hindu gods, nor worship in Hindu temples nor do their devotional practices correspond with those of Hindu population in the immediate vicinity."¹³⁴

The following is the list of primitive tribes:¹³⁵
 (1) Adwichincher Pardhi; (2) Barda; (3) Bavcha; (4) Bhil; (5) Chodhra; (6) Dhanka; (7) Dhodia; (8) Dubla; (9) Gamit or Gamta; (10) Gond; (11) Katkari or Kathodi; (12) Kokna; (13) Koli Mahadev; (14) Mavchi; (15) Nayak or Naikda; (16) Phanse Pardhi; (17) Patelia; (18) Pomla; (19) Rathawa; (20) Thakur; (21) Tadvī Bhil; (22) Valvi; (23) Varli and (24) Vasava. Of these Bavcha, Koli Mahadev, Pomla, Rathawa and Patelia are unquestionably Hindu by religion, while the Tadvī

Bhils of East Khandesh are Muslim.¹³⁶ The remaining 18 tribes are the true specimen of their culture and their actual strength is 1,235,205 in the British districts of the Presidency.¹³⁷ In other words, approximately 90 per cent of the tribal population is non-Hindu.¹³⁸

Muslims

Muslims of the Presidency form almost exactly one-fifth of the total population in the British territory; the actual figures being 2,025 per 10,000 of the total population.¹³⁹ Of the total number of Muslims 64·1 per cent are in Sind.¹⁴⁰ The Muslim community of the Presidency is split up into sections. The Sunnis number 237,717, while Shias are 205,256.¹⁴¹ Within the Muslim community there are other unspecified sects also totaling 3,971,087.¹⁴² All these sects of Islam in the Presidency are under the dominating influences of their sectional or tribal life. Apart from Sind, Muslims of the Presidency are distributed over 70 castes or tribes.¹⁴³ The Sind Muslims have 720 castes or tribes of whom Baloch tribe is most sectional.¹⁴⁴ Culturally and linguistically, Muslims of the Presidency belong to different patterns. The Muslim community as a whole lacks socio-cultural homogeneity. The different Muslim social units retain their sectional characteristics and live in 'sectional' peace.

Literacy

The literate population of the Bombay Presidency (including Bombay States and Agencies) is 8·6 per cent.¹⁴⁵ The literacy in male population is 14·3 per cent, while it is 2·4 per cent in the female population.¹⁴⁶ The number of persons literate per mille of the population

for all ages five and over for the Bombay Presidency is 102; for the British Districts 108; for Bombay States and *Princely States* 114.¹⁴⁷ The comparative figures of literacy per mille among males and females for all ages over five are tabled below:¹⁴⁸

<i>Unit</i>	<i>Literacy per Mille</i>	
	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
Bombay Presidency	167	29
British Districts	176	31
Bombay States	122	15
Bombay city	314	173
Gujarat	254	46
Konkan	171	27
Deccan	161	20
Sind	106	21

The distribution of literacy by religion per mille is given below:¹⁴⁹

Unit	Hindu		Muslim		Jain		Zoroastrian		Christian	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Bombay Presidency ..	166	23	121	16	494	94	842	727	144	277
British districts ..	151	21	120	16	540	108	842	728	449	283
Bombay city ..	245	88	247	75	314	98	798	688	555	447
Gujarat ..	253	38	369	44	823	289	870	755	365	194
Deccan ..	149	16	199	18	475	49	790	652	456	309
Konkan ..	151	21	269	44	641	104	832	691	270	99
Sind ..	263	51	44	5	595	260	692	575	726	686
Bombay States and Agencies ..	114	13	138	316	383	68	814	654	301	150
All cities ..	284	94	224	50	487	189	783	689	559	467

The literacy figures by religion bring out the fact that the proportion of literacy among the minority communities—Zoroastrian and Christian—for both males and females is high. Next come Jains with a good literacy among males and females. The low standard of literacy among the Muslims of Sind as compared with Muslims elsewhere is glaring. The Muslims of Sind are mostly agriculturists, while elsewhere Muslims are chiefly traders and artisans. Literacy amongst Hindus is very irregular in the district distribution, which is due entirely to the heterogeneous character of the Hindu population because it includes communities with high literacy and communities with low literacy within its ranks.¹⁵⁰

Literacy by caste is the key to the problem of literacy in the Bombay Presidency.¹⁵¹ The fact is that literacy is very imperfectly diffused in the Presidency.¹⁵² Some communities are taking full advantage of facilities provided; others are taking a half-hearted interest in them and other communities are practically untouched.¹⁵³ Everywhere the urban areas are leading the rural areas in literacy.¹⁵⁴ Generally speaking, the agricultural population, the labouring classes, the depressed classes and the primitive tribes are extremely backward in the matter of literacy.¹⁵⁵ The commercial and trading classes everywhere show a fair standard of literacy.¹⁵⁶ The lopsidedness of literacy in the Presidency is due to the ill-proportion between the better-educated and the worse-educated sections or castes of the communities.¹⁵⁷ The following table illustrates the literacy proportion by selected castes:¹⁵⁸

*Literacy by Selected Castes**Number per 1,000*

<i>Caste</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
<i>Hindu</i>			
Brahman Audich	518	728	267
Brahman Deshasth	526	809	202
Brahman Chitapawan or Koka-nasth	552	770	331
Brahman Gaud Saraswat ..	456	727	190
Darji, Shimpi, Sai and Merai ..	296	534	49
Ghanchi	413	671	110
Hajam, Nhavi, Nadig	120	220	20
Kanbis of Gujarat	313	530	82
Kayasth Prabhu	644	751	515
Koshti	175	323	18
Lingayat	158	293	20
Lohana	290	470	74
Maratha	113	156	32
Sali	187	310	46
Sonar, Soni and Daivadnya Brahman	231	438	27
<i>Muslim</i>			
Bohra (Shia)	345	503	152
Bohra (Sunni)	324	598	3
<i>Christian</i>	390	463	295
<i>Zoroastrian</i>	794	850	734

It may be observed here that the other Hindu and Muslim castes have per mille less than 100 literates.¹⁵⁹

Literacy in English

In the Bombay Presidency, including the States and Agencies, out of a total population of 26,271,784, the number of persons literate in English is 394,663 or 1.5 per cent.¹⁶⁰ Of this number 335,658 are males and 59,005 are females, equal to 2.5 per cent and 0.5 per cent of the male and female population.¹⁶¹ The comparative table of the general literacy and literacy in English per mille by natural divisions is given below:¹⁶²

LITERACY IN ENGLISH IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

Units	<i>Literates in English per 1,000 of total Literates</i>		
	<i>Persons</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
Bombay	174	170	196
British District	185	181	211
Northern Division	101	107	61
Central Division	175	167	232
Southern Division	88	90	69
Sind	200	201	193
Bombay State and Agencies	89	94	46
Bombay city	480	487	453

The high proportion of literacy figures for Sind is due to the extent to which the speakers of English in Sind are confined to Karachi and the larger towns and also to the fact that in Sind literacy itself is a feature of the town population.¹⁶³ The higher figure for female literacy in English in the Central Division than for male literacy is due partly to Poona city, which is a high educational centre for girls.¹⁶⁴

Literacy in English by religion per mille accounts for all ages, five and over: Hindu 131, Muslim 81, Jain 353, Zoroastrian 5,107, Christian 2,620 and Tribal 5.¹⁶⁵ Of the minor religions in the Presidency—Sikh has 706 literates per mille, Buddhist 2,390 literates, Jew 2,919 literates and other religions have 3,567 literates.¹⁶⁶

Literacy in English by caste shows that the four Brahman castes, the Kayasth Prabhu, the Bohra, the Christian and the Zoroastrian are the most advanced and return far the highest figures.¹⁶⁷ The literacy index in English per 10,000 for other castes is negligible.¹⁶⁸ The low proportion of literacy in the Bombay Presidency

is due to a large number of primitive tribes and the depressed classes who are most backward in point of literacy.¹⁶⁹

Languages

The Presidency of Bombay is a most interesting polyglot. The linguistic map of the Presidency shows that there are linguistic areas in which one dominating language is supreme ; in some areas one chief language and one other language are either equally important or less important ; in other areas one chief language along with an admixture of other languages is prevalent.¹⁷⁰ Where a dominating language exists, it is an area of linguistic homogeneity.¹⁷¹ In some areas two languages are struggling against each other equally or unequally, but in a really polyglot area, the main language is spoken by a much smaller number and sometimes by an actual minority of the population.¹⁷²

The areas where one language is supreme are shown in the following table :¹⁷³

<i>District</i>						<i>Language</i>	<i>Percentage speaking</i>
Ratnagiri	..	..	..	..	..	Marathi	95
Kolaba	..	..	..	..	..	Marathi	95
Satara	..	..	.	..	..	Marathi	94
Karia ..	..	.	..	.	..	Gujarati	95
Panch Mahals	..	..	..	..	..	Gujarati	95
Surat ..	..	..	..	..	..	Gujarati	94

The table below illustrates an example of an area where there is one chief language and another important language battling with it :¹⁷⁴

Sanskrit

Marathi—13 per cent

Kanarese—38 per cent

Examples of areas where there are one chief language and an admixture of other languages are given below:¹⁷⁵

<i>District</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Percentage of the total population</i>
Ahmednagar	Marathi	88
	Western Hindi	11
	Bhili	
	Rajasthani	
	Telugu	
Poona	Marathi	88
	Western Hindi	6
	Sindhi	5
	Gujarati	
	Tulu	
	Telugu	
	English	
West Khandesh	Marathi	27
	Bhili	34
	Ahirani	25
Thar and Parkar	Sindhi Proper	40
	Thareli, Kachchhi and Siraiki	31
	Rajasthani	13
	Gujarati	7

The Bombay Presidency is a country where 18 languages are spoken.¹⁷⁶ The following table shows the number of persons per 10,000 of the population who speak each language as mothertongue.¹⁷⁷

<i>Language</i>	<i>Persons per 10,000</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Marathi	4,231	42.31
Gujarati	1,856	18.56
Kanarese	1,217	12.17
Sindhi	1,109	11.09
Western Hindi	594	5.94
Bhili	221	2.21
Rajasthani	115	1.15
Balochi	112	1.12
Siraiki or Jatki	97	0.97
Ahirani or Khandeshi	85	0.85
Konkani	82	0.82
All other languages	65	0.65
Telugu	62	0.62
Kachchhi	42	0.42
Thareli or Dhatki	32	0.32
Brahui	30	0.30
Punjabi	30	0.30
English	20	0.20

From the linguistic statistics it becomes obvious that the numerically important languages of the Presidency are Marathi, Gujarati, Kanarese, Sindhi and Western Hindi. Languages of minor numerical importance are Bhili, Rajasthani, Balochi, Siraiki or Jakti, Ahirani or Khandeshi, Konkani, Telugu, Kachchhi, Thareli or Dhatki, Brahui, Punjabi and English and these can have no claim on the strength of provincial languages. In the same way Tamil, Pashto, Tulu, Eastern Hindi, Malayalam, Persian, Arabic, Gipsy and Bengali are not only numerically unimportant; but also lose their importance as provincial languages.¹⁷⁸

The languages of the Presidency that can assert their linguistic claim are Marathi, Gujarati, Kanarese,

Sindhi and Western Hindi (each spoken by more than a million persons).

Marathi

Marathi is numerically the most prevalent spoken language in the Presidency, though it is, however, local in its distribution.¹⁷⁹ It is spoken by 11,114,924 persons out of a total population of 26,271,784.¹⁸⁰ In other words, 2 persons out of nearly every 5 speak Marathi. The actual proportionate distribution of the Marathi-speaking population by natural divisions is tabled below:¹⁸¹

<i>Natural Divisions</i>					<i>Number of Marathi-speaking persons in thousands</i>
British Districts	..	..	..	..	9,336
Northern Division	..	..	..	..	741
Central Division	..	..	..	..	5,823
Southern Division	..	..	..	..	2,205
Sind	..	..	..	..	14
Bombay States and Agencies	..	..	..	..	1,779

Gujarati

Gujarati is spoken by 4,876,737 persons of the total provincial population.¹⁸² This means that one person out of 5 speaks Gujarati.¹⁸³ Gujarati claims to have 3,424 persons on the basis of the all-British district population per 10,000.¹⁸⁴ The table shows the numerical strength of the Gujarati-speaking persons per 10,000 by natural divisions:¹⁸⁵

<i>Natural Divisions</i>					<i>Number of Gujarati-speaking persons per 10,000</i>
Northern Division	..	..	..	..	2,968
Central Division	..	..	..	..	120
Southern Division	..	..	..	..	15
Sind	..	..	..	..	78
Bombay States and Agencies	..	..	..	..	1,453

Kanarese

Kanarese is spoken by 3,197,417 persons out of the total provincial population.¹⁸⁶ Thus one person out of every 8 speaks Kanarese.¹⁸⁷ In the British districts the number of the Kanarese-speaking persons per 10,000 is 2,598.¹⁸⁸ The Southern Division is the only Kanarese representative division (2,502 per 10,000 of Kanarese-speaking persons) while the Northern Division and the Central Division show negligible proportions.¹⁸⁹

Sindhi

Sindhi is spoken by 2,913,338 persons out of the total provincial population; but it is spoken in Sind by 2,874,593 persons out of a total population of 4,114,253.¹⁹⁰ This brings out the fact that in Sind 2 persons out of every 3 speak Sindhi.¹⁹¹ Though Sindhi has a major claim as a language of the Sind Province, it has to fight hard for its linguistic right in Sind because the Province of Sind is itself a battle-ground of languages.¹⁹²

THE HINDI

Western Hindi is spoken by 1,561,406 persons out of the total provincial population.¹⁹³ In other words, it means that one person out of every 17 speaks Western Hindi.¹⁹⁴ Though it has a large number of speakers, it is not an indigenous language of the Presidency.¹⁹⁵ It is not even localized in particular areas of predominance like Marathi, Gujarati, Kanarese and Sindhi.¹⁹⁶ Western Hindi includes Hindustani (Hindi-cum-Urdu) and serves the purpose of a 'lingua franca' in certain parts of the Presidency where there is considerable coming and going amongst strangers.¹⁹⁷ It is much spoken by Muslims as a second language in areas where the local language is the medium of speech.¹⁹⁸ Western Hindi is particularly the language of large numbers of the immigrants from outside the Presidency and as these are scattered over many localities the language shows a great deal of dispersion.¹⁹⁹

Thus the linguistic problem of the Bombay Presidency is not a complicated one. Marathi and Gujarati are in fact the real provincial languages, while Sindhi, on account of the separation of Sind from the Presidency, cannot be taken into account in discussing the languages of the Presidency. Kanarese is a much too localized language and confined mostly to the Southern Division of the Presidency. The fate of Western Hindi hangs in the balance because it is not an indigenous language of the Presidency. The other minor languages can easily recede into the background on account of the provincial bilingualism. Marathi, Gujarati and Kanarese can replace them, because the speakers of other minor languages are bilingual.²⁰⁰

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CHAPTER ELEVENTH

INDIA

Area

The area of India is 1,808,679 square miles.¹

Natural Features

India is a sub-continent. There is a great diversity in her physical features. Some of her parts are well within the temperate zone; others are almost equatorial.² Her natural characteristics determine the variegatedness of her life.³ Geologically, the peninsula is one of the oldest of the world's formations.⁴ The variety of her physical features varies not only from the loftiest mountains of the world to flats salted by every tide but also from sandy deserts with a rainfall of five inches or less in a year in the north-west to thickly wooded evergreen hills which have never less than 100 inches and here and there get 500 inches of rain or more in the east and south.⁵ There are extremes of temperatures in northern India ranging from 120° of heat to below freezing point.⁶ In the south the temperature is almost static in its heat and humidity.⁷

The physical features of the inhabitants of India are no less variable than those of their environments.⁸ India presents different types of ethnic groups. The people of India represent every aspect from that of the latest phase of western civilization to that of the most primitive cultures.⁹ It may be remarked in connection with the physical features of India that the boundaries

of administrative units run counter to the divisions of nature.¹⁰

Population

In 1931 the population of the whole of India was 353 millions; but on the basis of the 1941 Census it has shown an increase by 50 millions. It is observed by Mr. M. W. M. Yeatts, the Census Commissioner, that "the mere decade increment is itself greater than the entire population of any European country except Germany or Russia." The total population of British India is 256,859,787 and of the Indian States 81,310,845 (their area being 712,508 square miles).¹¹ The proportion of the population of the Indian States to British India excluding Burma is 24 to 76.¹² India is such a huge country that its population forms almost one-fifth part of that of the whole world.¹³

Urban and Rural Population

The total percentage of urban population was 11 in 1931, but the urban percentage has increased by 15 per cent as estimated by the 1941 Census. This means that India's urban percentage is 26. How has the increase in urban population been effected? Mr. Yeatts observes in his note on "Town and Country" in the report of the 1941 Census that "the number of cities with a hundred thousand inhabitants or more was 35 in 1931 and is 58 now. The population living in cities of this size has increased over the decade from 9·1 to 16·5 million, a rise of 81 per cent which is notable contrast with the 15 per cent increase over the whole country." He further remarks that "India has been as often referred to as a land of villages that the real dimensions

of its urban element are apt to be forgotten or not realised at all and still more the rate of change of that urban element.....It is time that it was realised that India is in for urbanization on a big scale and that it will affect pronouncedly the really large towns rather than smaller ones." In this connection it may be observed that the whole calculation of an all-India increase in urban population is based on the 58 big cities of India. Even then the total urban population of India comes to only 26 per cent. This clearly shows that the vast bulk of the population is still rural, and to term India as 'a land of villages' is justifiable despite 'urbanization on a big scale.' India is 74 per cent rural according to the 1941 Census. The note on the Census of India reveals that industrialization has been most acute in few big cities of India, but how far the increase in urban population in the Provinces has been affected, the 1941 Census does not disclose the fact. The percentage of urban population ranges from 3.4 of the whole population in Assam to 22.6 in Bombay in 1931. The distribution of urban population per mille of each main religion who live in towns is tabled below:¹⁴

	<i>All religions</i>	<i>Hindu</i>	<i>Jain</i>	<i>Zoroastrian</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Christian</i>
India	111	105	346	891	135	202

Occupational Distribution

In 1931 there were 44 principal earners to 56 working dependents.¹⁵ The proportion of earners to working dependents is about nine to two, that is of the total working population 81.4 per cent is in direct receipt of wages or of other means of subsistence whereas the other 18.6 per cent are helpers of wage-earners.¹⁶

The ratio of working population engaged in the sub-classes of occupation is tabled below:¹⁷

<i>Occupation (by sub-class)</i>	<i>Ratio of workers to non-working dependents</i>
Exploitation of animals and vegetation	44 : 56
Exploitation of minerals	62 : 38
Industry	45 : 55
Transport	43 : 57
Trade	42 : 58
Public force	46 : 54
Public administration	36 : 64
Professions and liberal arts	39 : 61
Miscellaneous	44 : 56

The distribution of workers of all kinds in various categories of occupation is as follows:¹⁸

<i>Occupation (by sub-class)</i>	<i>Number of workers (in lakhs)</i>	<i>Percentage of total workers</i>	<i>Total maintained (in lakhs)</i>	<i>Percentage of total population</i>
Exploitation of animals and vegetation	1,033	67.1	2,348	67.0
Exploitation of minerals	3	0.2	5	0.1
Industry	154	10.0	342	9.7
Transport	23	1.5	53	1.5
Trade	79	5.1	188	5.4
Public force	8	0.6	17	0.5
Public administration	10	0.7	28	0.8
Professions and liberal arts ..	23	1.5	59	1.7
Miscellaneous	205	13.3	466	13.3

The proportion of the total population maintained by the various sub-classes corresponds very closely to the proportion of workers of all kinds in each of the occupational classes.

Agriculture

The great preponderance of agriculture as the principal or subsidiary occupation becomes self-evident on the statistical data. In the sub-class occupation of the exploitation of animals and vegetation, pasture and agriculture, claims 71 per cent of the actual workers of India, or if those, who follow it as a subsidiary to some other occupation, are excluded the percentage falls down to 67.¹⁹ Be it remembered that the great majority of the subsidiary workers also are occupied in agriculture proper. The proportionate distribution of workers in pasture and agriculture as occupations is tabled below:²⁰

<i>Sub-order</i>	<i>Number per mille of total</i>
Cultivation	943
Cultivation of special crops, fruits etc. ..	17
Forestry	4
Stock-raising	35
Raising of insects etc.	1

Thus cultivation or agriculture ranks first among the other agricultural occupations. The agricultural community comprises non-cultivating proprietors, cultivating proprietors, cultivating tenants, agricultural labourers, estate agents, managers and clerks etc. The total number of cultivating proprietors is 28,397,214

and tenant cultivators 36,238,654.²¹ The ratio of tenant cultivators to cultivating proprietors is 1,000 : 784.²² The numerical strength of the agricultural labourers is 24,925,357 and their ratio to the cultivating proprietors and tenant cultivators is 407 : 1,000.²³ The distribution of the agricultural groups per 1,000 occupations is as follows:—²⁴

Distribution of 1,000 Occupations in Cultivation

<i>Agricultural Group</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Principal</i>	<i>Dependent</i>	<i>Subsidiary</i>	<i>Number per mille of total actual workers</i>
Non-cultivating proprietors	40	29	3	8	27
Cultivating proprietors	275	228	33	14	184
Cultivating tenants	350	288	42	20	235
Agricultural labourers	324	241	63	20	218
Cultivators of shifting areas	8	7	1	..	5
Estate agents, managers, clerks etc. ..	3	1	..	1	2

The vast bulk of the agricultural community comprises cultivating owners, tenant cultivators and agricultural labourers. In the sub-class of the exploitation of animals and vegetation, the cultivation of special crops occupies a mere fraction of the population engaged in pasture and agriculture; forestry employs still fewer than special cultivation; stock-raising is after cultivation which provides most occupations, but only 36 per mille of the whole order of pasture and agriculture; fishing and hunting as an occupation employs even fewer than

special cultivation, though fishing is connected with agricultural occupation.²⁵

Exploitation of Minerals

This sub-class of occupation has two distinct phases: metallic and non-metallic. The following is the distribution of the number per mille of workers in the exploitation of minerals :²⁶

	<i>Number per mille of workers</i>							
METALLIC MINERALS—								
Gold	30
Iron	30
Lead, Silver and Zinc	23
Manganese	35
Tin and wolfram	12
Others	4
NON-METALLIC MINERALS—								
Coal	107
Petroleum	69
Building materials	125
Mica	31
Precious stones	19
Salt etc.	108
Others	7

Industry

The total number of workers engaged in industry is 26,187,689.²⁷ Industry occupies 10 per cent of India's workers.²⁸ The distribution of the number per mille of industrial workers is tabled below :²⁹

<i>Industry (by order)</i>	<i>Number per mille of workers</i>
Textiles	258
Hides, skin etc.	21
Wood	113
Metals	48
Ceramics	68
Chemical products etc.	42
Food industries	95
Industries of dress etc.	223
Furniture	1
Building	40
Construction of means of transport	2
Production and transmission of heat, power etc.	1
Miscellaneous and undefined (Makers of musical instruments, makers of clocks and surgical or scientific instruments, makers of jewellery and ornaments)	88

The statistics of industry show the preponderating influence of the agricultural occupation on industry as an occupational pursuit of the workers. The interests of industry and agriculture seem not only allied but inter-dependent also. The well-being of industrial activity in India depends upon the prosperity of agricultural occupations. Industry and agriculture will have to go hand in hand in the future planned economy of India.

Transport

The total number of workers engaged in transport as an occupational pursuit is 765,000.³⁰ The figures for transport show that it is a most neglected occupation because India is still backward in the means of communi-

cation. It is a well-known fact that if a country has no up-to-date means of transport, it is bound to 'stagnate.' In the whole of India, though the urbanized areas are inter-communicated, there is a great dearth in the means of transport especially in rural areas. The scheme of transport facilities provides amenities of life to urbanized areas but the rural India is looking askance at Transport. To 'nationalize' transport is the need of the hour so that the real India—'a land of villages'—may be able to develop her resources with the help of the means of modern transport. What is happening in India to-day is the improvement of the means of transport in urbanized areas without realizing for a moment that unless the rural India is thoroughly 'conducted' with the net-work of transport facilities on a national basis, no real progress in the way of industrialization or urbanization is possible for the good of India.

Trade

The distribution of the number per mille of workers engaged in different lines of trade is as follows:³¹

<i>Trade (by order)</i>							<i>Number per mille of workers</i>
Banks etc.	..	..	..	..	..	..	52
Brokerage etc.	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Textiles	..	..	..	..	..	..	56
Hides etc.	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
Wood	..	..	..	..	..	..	21
Metals	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Pottery, bricks etc.	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Chemical products	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Hotels etc.	..	..	..	..	..	..	59
Other food-stuffs	..	..	..	..	..	..	485

<i>Trade (by order)</i>	<i>Number per mille of workers</i>
Clothing and toilet	13
Furniture	7
Building materials	3
Means of transport	15
Fuel	40
Luxury, letters and arts etc.	26
Miscellaneous	187

Trade as an occupational pursuit of the people has a strong agricultural support to fall back upon. Trade and agriculture, like industry and agriculture, are supplementary occupations, but agriculture as a prime occupation has to feed trade as a mother occupation. Like industry, trade has to fall in line with agricultural planning and reorganization if it aspires to rise high as an occupation.

Public Force and Public Administration

In the occupation of public force the number of employed workers is 841,000; in public administration as an occupational pursuit 995,284 workers are engaged.³² 2,310,141 workers earn their livelihood from the occupation of professions and liberal arts.³³ In the miscellaneous categories of occupation persons living on their own income are 215,874; the domestic service as a means of sustenance engages 10,898,277 workers; the insufficiently-described occupations engage a total of 7,778,642 workers.³⁴ The unproductive class of occupation has 1,625,847 workers.³⁵ The following table shows the general distribution of workers in each occupation per 10,000 of total population:³⁶

<i>Occupation (by sub-class)</i>	<i>Number per 10,000 of total population</i>	
	<i>Earners (Principal occupation) and working dependents</i>	<i>Earners as subsidiary occupation</i>
Non-working dependents=5,609		
All occupations	4,391	425
Exploitation of animals and vegetation	2,947	215
Exploitation of minerals	10	2
Industry	438	62
Transport	67	12
Trade	4	2
Public force	24	3
Public administration	28	4
Professions and liberal arts	66	12
Persons living on their income	6	2
Domestic service	311	51
Insufficiently-described occupations	222	20
Unproductive	46	3

Religion

India is a land of religions. As we have already discussed the various aspects of main religions in the previous chapters, we do not think it proper to repeat what has been said before. The total numerical strength of Hindus is 239,195,140 or 68·24 per cent of the total population of India.³⁷ The total numerical strength of Muslims is 77,678,000 or 22·16 per cent of the total population of India.³⁸ The tribal population is 2·36 per cent of the total population of India or 8,280,000.³⁹ The Christian population is 1·79 per cent of the total population of India or 6,297,000.⁴⁰ Sikhs form a popu-

lation of 4,335,771 or 1·24 per cent of the total population of India.⁴¹ The total population of Jains is 1,252,105 or they are 0·36 per cent of the total population of India.⁴² The Buddhist population in the whole of India (excluding) Burma is 438,769 or 0·125 per cent of the total population of India.⁴³ Zoroastrians are in all 109,752 and their percentage is 0·003 on an all-India basis.⁴⁴ The numerical strength of other minor religions and religions not returned is 571,000 or 0·16 per cent of the total population of India.⁴⁵ There has been slight increase as well as decrease in the percentage of population by each religion. The 1941 Census fixes 66 per cent for Hindus; 24 per cent for Muslims, 6 per cent for tribes. It is remarked that "allowing for that proportion of tribes, who may be regarded as more than half-assimilated, the Hindu element is over two-thirds. Just under one-fifth of Hindus and one-eighth of the total population belong to the scheduled castes. Indian Christians return one and a half per cent and allowing for tribal overlap 1·8 per cent. The number of persons of European origin is 135,000 i.e., about one in every three thousand of the population."

Literacy

The total population figure of literacy is 296,294,029 or the percentage literate is not more than 8 per cent.⁴⁶

It is an obvious fact that literacy is much more marked in towns than in the country. Of the total population in the 34 cities, the proportion literate per 1,000 is 348 males and 149 females.⁴⁷

Literacy by community is tabled below:⁴⁸

Community	Literate per mille	
	Aged 5 and over	Aged 20 and over
Zoroastrian	791	851
Jewish	416	432
Jain	353	389
Christian	279	305
Sikh	91	107
Hindu	84	96
Muslim	64	77
Minor and unspecified	19	23
Tribal	7	8

Literacy by caste is calculated on the provincial basis which has already been discussed in the preceding chapters.

Literacy in English

The proportion of literacy in English per 10,000 literate is 1,473 males and 434 females in the 34 cities.⁴⁹ The proportionate literate per 10,000 of total population is 181 males and 23 females on an all-India basis.⁵⁰ The following table shows literacy in English per 10,000 of the population in each community :⁵¹

Community	Literate persons
Zoroastrian	5,041
Jewish	2,636
Christian	919
Jain	306
Sikh	151
Buddhist	119
Hindu	113
Muslim	92
Tribal	4

Language

India also is a land of languages. Though it is stated that 250 languages are spoken in the land, the provincial statistics prove that each Province claims one or two languages as provincial languages. The general problem of languages has been discussed in the preceding chapters.

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- ¹ Census of India, Vol. I. India, Part I—Report, Delhi, 1933, p. 1. ² *ibid.* p. 1. ³ *ibid.* p. 1. ⁴ *ibid.* p. 1. ⁵ *ibid.* p. 1. ⁶ *ibid.* p. 1. ⁷ *ibid.* pp. 1, 2. ⁸ *ibid.* p. 2. ⁹ *ibid.* p. 2. ¹⁰ *ibid.* p. 2. ¹¹ *ibid.* p. 4. (As the new Census in details have not been published, we have to rely on the old Census figures). ¹² *ibid.* p. 4. ¹³ *ibid.* p. 5. ¹⁴ *ibid.* p. 61. ¹⁵ *ibid.* p. 274. ¹⁶ *ibid.* p. 274. ¹⁷ *ibid.* p. 275. ¹⁸ *ibid.* p. 276. ¹⁹ *ibid.* p. 286. ²⁰ *ibid.* p. 286. ²¹ *ibid.* p. 287. ²² *ibid.* p. 287. ²³ *ibid.* p. 288. ²⁴ *ibid.* p. 288. ²⁵ *ibid.* p. 289. ²⁶ *ibid.* p. 290. ²⁷ *ibid.* p. 285. ²⁸ *ibid.* p. 290. ²⁹ *ibid.* p. 290. ³⁰ *ibid.* p. 292. ³¹ *ibid.* p. 293. ³² *ibid.* p. 314. ³³ *ibid.* p. 314. ³⁴ *ibid.* p. 314. ³⁵ *ibid.* p. 314. ³⁶ *ibid.* pp. 305, 306. ³⁷ *ibid.* p. 387. ³⁸ *ibid.* p. 387. ³⁹ *ibid.* p. 387. ⁴⁰ *ibid.* p. 387. ⁴¹ *ibid.* p. 387. ⁴² *ibid.* p. 387. ⁴³ *ibid.* p. 387. ⁴⁴ *ibid.* p. 387. ⁴⁵ *ibid.* p. 387. ⁴⁶ *ibid.* pp. 324, 325. ⁴⁷ *ibid.* p. 327. ⁴⁸ *ibid.* p. 329. ⁴⁹ *ibid.* p. 327. ⁵⁰ *ibid.* p. 327. ⁵¹ *ibid.* p. 327.

CHAPTER TWELFTH

THE FUNDAMENTALS

Political Parties and Political Deadlock

In recent times much has been said and written on the political deadlock in India. It appears that India has come to a standstill. The taking of a forward step in the direction of political progress is well-nigh impossible. That the political deadlock may end is the desire of all the well-wishers of our country; but the political parties in India insist on their political 'specifics.' The partisan standpoints in politics complicate the political problem of India.

The largest political party—the Congress—is adamant on the 'complete' surrender of political power on the part of the government to Indian hands. The Muslim League, as the 'sole' political representative party of Muslims, believes in the disappearance of the mist of political deadlock with the inauguration of Pakistan. The Hindu Mahasabha, as the 'true' representative political organization of the Hindu community, pins its faith in the principle of democracy i.e., the majority rule by Hindus. It claims to solve the political tangle of India by safeguarding the political interests of minorities on proportionate representation.

There are political minorities in the country who insist on the protection of their rights and unless their political interests are safeguarded, no political peace is in sight. The socialist and the communist parties

sing their own songs of socio-political idealism and harbour hopes that their political organizations will bring political peace and progress in India. The ending of political deadlock from the standpoint of the national liberals is in nationalizing the government. There are also many other political parties of a quasi-communal tinge; but they claim to be national. Politically, they are of the same school as major political parties and their treatment for the cure of political ills is the bestowal of complete political power on the basis of communal adjustment. The British Parliament has reiterated promises to make India a self-governing country and states that discordant political constituents of India are hindrances in the way of her self-government.

In the domain of Indian politics, political parties are at loggerheads and their political interests clash and assume disproportionate dimensions. The Congress believes to activize the democratic principle—the principle of government by majority but gives full assurance for the safeguarding of politico-cultural interests of minorities. The Muslim League shuns to father the principle of democracy, but advances a two-nation theory as the political panacea. It dreads the Congress or Hindu domination in the Provinces and the Central Government on the democratic principle. The Pakistan is eager to divide India into predominant Muslim zones with big and powerful Hindu minorities and predominant Hindu zones with small and weak Muslim minorities. On an all-India distribution of political power, the League is opposed to the democratic principle of political representation but on the zonal basis it hugs the principle of democracy i.e., the Muslim populations in regions of Pakistan have to be claimed on the demo-

cratic principle. And on the basis of a two-nation theory it claims 50 per cent representation for Muslims in the Central Government and for the Muslim representation in non-Muslim Provinces the basis of political adjustment has to be decided and agreed upon in accordance with the demands of minorities. This is the whole crux of the political deadlock.

Political Riddle

India is disrupted politically. Is there a ray of hope for political adjustments? Is it possible to find a way out of this political impasse? What is the prime reason for such a state of affairs in the politics of India? Can political principles of opposite natures assist in ending political deadlock in India? Is it possible to think of political progress on the basis of different political ideologies current in the country? Is it not a fact that India is being torn by political parties? Is it also not a fact that each political party is playing its own game and blaming other parties for political obstinacy and obscurantism? Is there no possibility of a new orientation in the matter of Indian politics? Are the causes of political deadlock in India inherent in the structure of political parties or are they due to the adoption of political principles that are not applicable to Indian conditions? These are few questions that are agitating the minds of the people of India. To answer them it is a difficult task. If the causes are to be probed into, it is essential to form an idea of the socio-political evolution of India during the centuries of her existence.

Politics and Government in Ancient India

India is a very ancient country and her socio-political institutions also have the impress of the ages. Ancient

India had witnessed the struggle between the republican and monarchic forms of government. Though ultimately monarchy triumphed over republics, the republican forms of government continued to exist within restricted areas of the country for many centuries till these were completely wiped out of existence.

The earlier form of the monarchic government had to pass through a period of transition in order to develop a system of governance. The existence of a full-fledged monarchy dates from the Mauryan age. It functioned on two cardinal principles—(1) the establishment of the principle of suzerainty and (2) the welfare of the people as the principle of government. In the political evolution of ancient India, the monarchic principle was imperialistic. Under this all-powerful principle the country had to submit to the dictates of monarchs; but the imperial government did not insist so much on the kingdom-taking policy as on the suzerainty principle. The state thus formed in ancient India was of a feudal-federal structure and composition.¹ The political units were let free to exercise power and authority over their own states. The only political binding link that connected them into a federal structure was the imperial sway as the paramount power in the land. The system of tribute had economico-political importance. This was the chief feature of the monarchic rule in its inter-statal relations.

Struggle for Imperial Rule

Ancient India also bears testimony to the fact that in her political life the imperial rule was questioned times without number. In the later part of her political existence one imperial power was contested by another

imperial power. On the battle-fields the fate of thrones was decided for the mastery of imperial power. In the scramble for imperial power, the northern as well as the southern political powers were engaged. The last phase of the political evolution in ancient India was determined by regional factors in politics. The south attempted to oust the imperial rule of the north and established its imperial sway, though it was not a successful venture as political factors in the south could not be controlled effectively by the southern imperial rule. The north also was a scene of political rivalries in the imperial direction. Thus the imperial rule in ancient India only could live so long as it was formidable and unchallenged. It collapsed with signs of internal weakness. The feudal-federal units served the imperial government because of the imperial pressure; but feudal-federalism also flourished and became strong under the imperial rule because of the policy of non-interference and indifference in internal matters of feudal-federal units. This was one of the causes for undermining the real strength of the imperial power in ancient India. Though India was ruled by imperial monarchs, the real India in the form of small political units was in the complete control of smaller political powers.

The emperor-kings fought against the kings. The might of emperors was tested on the battle-fields by the consolidated power of the kings. To establish unchallenged sway was the only concern of the emperor-kings. The people had no voice in political matters and no political rights. They had to obey the imperial command or to fall in with imperialistic thinking and activity. The whole trend of politics was imperialistic. The only popular institutions, in which the voice of the 'people'

was ever heard, were the republican governments. These were swallowed up by monarchies. India was under imperial heels and her people succumbed to imperial dictates.

Principle of Governance

The other side of the monarchic regime is more promising. The actual system of government had worked on principles that were conducive to the welfare of the people, though it had none of the popular principles of modern government. The government of the country pursued a sound policy in order to stabilize itself. This was done in accordance with principles of human welfare. The chief concern of the government was to improve the economic condition of the people. Its political maxim was that without a prosperous people the government could not succeed in making itself popular. Though the popular voice was lacking in the counsels of the government, the consideration was there to popularize it. It was feared that a despotic government would ruin the country as well as itself. Hence, it was the duty of the government to look after the material welfare of the people. The country prospered and the government functioned on its economic prosperity.

Government and Society

To bring about peace and order in the country, the government framed laws on the principle of social justice as conceived by the ancients. It also was its concern to keep an eye on the general condition of social life. The government was aware of the fact that a stable society was needed for its existence. The spirit of social legislation was to ensure a harmonious social living.

Society was governed by caste laws and the government was their custodian. It was its duty not to make new laws, but only to enforce established laws. Social legislation was the monopoly of the 'law-givers.' The government in ancient India did not help in the formation of a homogeneous society, but succeeded in counterpoising forces in a heterogeneous society with all its horizontal differentiations. The sense of loyalty to the Crown, no doubt, was considered a virtue; but no attempts were made to politicize the minds of the people with a view to giving effect to political loyalty to the Crown and the State. The basis of the government was non-political. The people as political factors had no place in the scheme of political organization. They had no political rights as citizens. The organization of the government was bureaucratic; it was neither communal nor popular. The monarchic government continued to exist on its own feudal-federal strength.

Imperial Rule of Turks and Afghans

Medieval India was no abrupt ending in the imperial activity of ancient India but its continuation, though it experienced the civilizing influences of new ethnic units—Turkish, Afghan and Mughal. The monarchic ideal and form of government of ancient India served as a model to medieval India as well. During the centuries of their imperialistic rule Turks, Afghans and Mughals indentified themselves with the people of India. The Turkish monarchy had to pass in its initial stages through a political crisis in the form of establishing either an oligarchic or 'constitutional' rule, but the political condition of India compelled it to favour a strong monarchic rule.² Though a centralized government on the monarchic

principle was established by Turks, its foundation was laid on principles of politics, statecraft and justice. It was principally supported by the Turkish group, but it made its existence felt in the domain of politics by recognizing the political elements of the country. It slowly began to assume imperialistic form on the old basis of the feudal-federal principle of ancient India. The Afghan monarchy, though tribal in instinct and expression, was governed by principles of political adjustment and compromise. During the Afghan monarchy, the tendency for political integration had been most marked. The structure of government was monarchic; but it was strengthened and reinforced by indigenous politics. The Turkish and Afghan systems of government were moulded by political conditions and factors and their political strength lay in the recognition of the co-existing political powers in India. The small political units became the base of the Turkish or Afghan monarchy. The old principle of feudal-federalism was accepted as a *sine qua non*. The Turkish or Afghan paramount power flourished on the unwavering support and co-operation of small states of India. The Turkish or Afghan monarchy had to rely on the solidarity of political units rather than the people as a political entity for its existence. The Turkish or Afghan imperialism was built up and consolidated on loyalties of few politico-ethnic groups and the groups of small indigenous states. To broadbase the government on the strength of the peoples of India was inconceivable for the medieval Turks and Afghans.

The Turkish and Afghan imperial regimes were conscious of the fact that without the happiness and welfare of the people in general, there could be no political

stability. Economic well-being as a principle was the chief concern of the Turkish or Afghan state. Laws were enforced for the economic development of the country. Though no planned economy was inaugurated, economic prosperity of the people was the aim of their government. In the realization of material welfare the Turkish as well as Afghan monarchy achieved success of a high order.

Turks and Afghans undoubtedly were medieval imperialists. In their whole imperial policy the people as the government nowhere came up for consideration, though the safeguarding of social, religious, artistic, linguistic and economic interests of the people was done in accordance with their medieval ways and thinking. The net result of their efforts brought about peace and order, social harmony and concord and economic prosperity.

The Mughal Rule and its Features

The continuation of the ancient political ideal and form of government in medieval India reached its climax in Mughals. The Mughal monarchy was surcharged with the spirit of humanism. Its human features made it popular in the country. It thrived on the principle of tolerance and had sympathetic appreciation for the multi-coloured cultural expressions of life in India. The Mughal genius synthesized socio-cultural forces in its regal form and manifestations. In other words, it was the spirit of cultural integration that exhibited itself in living forms and expressions in the Mughal monarchy. Its spirit and form were not only culturalized but 'nationalized' in the world of India. That the Mughal human material was most pliable for cultural moulding is

a fact. In India the imperial Mughals found a rich soil for the fertilization of their socio-cultural and political dynamics of humanism. Though Mughals humanized the whole of India, the basic principle of their rule was imperialistic. As Mughals were, in fact, animated with the ideal of imperialism, they succeeded, to a considerable extent, in leaving a deep imperialistic stamp on medieval India.

To rule over the whole of India, like the Mauryas or Guptas, as a paramount power was their cherished ideal. Their contribution was greatest in mughalizing India. The Mughal India was a living product of the synthesization of socio-religious and politico-cultural factors. In the realm of politics, the Mughal emperors closely followed the ideal of the Chakravartin of ancient India. Imperialism was in their blood. Even their imperial ideas were nurtured on the principle of federalism; but the Mughal imperialism was more forcible and dynamic in integrating the feudal-federal structure because of the principle of humanism. The inter-statal relations were humanized by Mughal imperialists. Most probably, they believed that without intense political integration of the structure of feudal-federalism no solid foundation could be laid for the well-being of Mughal imperialism and no small political units of India could ever be cohered unless they were interwoven in the texture of Mughal imperialism. This was the peculiarity of the Mughal genius in the realm of governance.

The Mughal monarchy was, in fact, imperialism enthroned; but in its political scheme or organization there were no traces of popular elements in the sense that the people formed the base of Mughal politics or state. That Mughals were great as protectors of the

people, high or low, rich or poor, is a known factor of history. They had the welfare of the people at heart. The principle of human welfare was not determined by politics and statecraft but was the natural outcome of their life-principle. The fact is that their government was not popularly broadbased but popular. The political entity of the people was a non-entity in Mughal politics.

Philosophy of Religion as Culture

In the socio-cultural evolution of ancient India, the basic principles of humanism were at work in moulding the forms of society.³ Religion and politics had fought many a fierce battle; but the net result of this struggle on the politico-cultural plane was that different spheres of world were assigned to each—Religion and Politics. Though religion influenced politics, the laws of politics exploited religion to their fullest advantage. Religion was most effective in spiritualizing the life of the people and brought home to them the value of broad-mindedness in matters of religion.

Ancient India gave birth to religions; but their existence in the country did not result in the general persecution or in the shedding of human blood in their name. They were, in their initial stages, instrumental in broadcasting the message of the spirit or culturalization of man on human principles or spiritualization as the ultimate goal of humanity. The people of ancient India were made to realize the importance of spirituality as opposed to the materialistic conception of life. The spiritual background of all religions was similar, but each religion differed in its way of realizing the goal of man. All these religions were a-social but intensely

spiritual. The only religion that could claim a social bearing was the Brahmanic. The spiritualizing influences of all religions of the non-Brahmanic type were keenly felt by the people of India for centuries. They were culturalized in their way of thinking and living by human dynamics. The non-Brahmanic religion tackled man as a problem of humanization, neglected social problems and encouraged in an indirect way the democratic principle of life. Such individualistic-democratic development of the people was in essence responsible for creating in them a living sense of cultural understanding and appreciation.

The Brahmanic Principle

During the course of centuries, spiritualistic or humanizing principles were overshadowed by ritualistic forms of religion. In ritualizing, the Brahmanic religion led the way. Ritualism as a socio-religious philosophy was the master-stroke of the Brahmanic mind. That man in an ordered or ordained society realizes himself was the Brahmanic philosophy. The Brahman worked out his scheme of socio-religious organization on the principle of 'synthesis', though he was not neglectful of the importance of a bright background of spiritualism. As the Brahmanic order of society was god-ordained, it thus functioned on a principle of hierarchical stratification. According to the Brahmanic thinking the social differentiation is not conditioned by artificial machinations of man, but is inherent in himself. His position in society due to birth is a positive proof of high or low spiritual attainment he has inherited. The Brahmanic order of society is reflective of the spiritual evolution of man determined by his own action in the past life.

So social justice meted out to man in the Brahmanic society is his own creation and he himself is responsible for his destined status in society. To the Brahman, man without society is inconceivable.

The Brahmanic Society

The whole Brahmanic socio-religious organization is based upon the recognition of groups as live-personalities. Brahmanic society is composed of diverse groups of varied origins and of all descriptions. Each group is assigned a definite place in the order of society and the individual has to live in and through the group. His individual existence merits in his own group; but his is a dead personality if he is bereft of a group. The 'freedom' of man is attainable in his group. The groups are caste-principled. Hence caste is the bed-rock of Brahmanic society. Its caste features make it a heterogeneous society with no sense of togetherness or oneness. The Brahmanic religion is much influenced by the traditions and customs of group life. There are no uniform standards in the Brahmanic society; but the only uniformity that runs through all the grades of groups is the Brahmanic order *par excellence*. Thus the Brahmanic religion possesses no unifying force. It only keeps the life of groups within bounds, but the piecing together of different groups in order to form a homogeneous society is beyond the scope of the Brahmanic order. In this way the Brahmanic socio-religious organization spreads out its net-work and keeps alive different social patterns and racial units.

Brahmanism and Politics

The pre-eminence achieved by the Brahmanic order was not so much self-earned or merited as due to the

sustained efforts of political powers in the direction of consolidating the Brahmanic interest.

The later period of ancient India (since 150 A. D. onwards) affords a lively spectacle of political powers forming alliances with the Brahmanic order. With their up-coming the Brahmanic order rose to terrestrial as well as celestial heights. In the game of politics, the Brahmanic machination helped political powers to score victories; but in the social realm the Brahman assisted by political forces usurped the key-position. Though politics was influenced by the Brahmanic thinking and ideology, it regained its balance after some time and functioned on its own principles. It is true that political powers encouraged the Brahmanic organization for their own stability. Ancient India bears out that the non-Brahmanic religions after the victory march of the Brahman had to suffer irremediably by political scourge. Political India enforced the Brahmanic order as the order of the day; but this did not intensify the process of unification in the whole Brahmanic social fabric. The Brahmanic order was too keen to disrupt non-Brahmanic factors and to form a society of heterogeneous units of its stamp. The Brahman was and is a believer in the paramountcy of power. The constituent elements of the Brahmanic society were and are not intrinsically integral. The aim was to form no groups as integral parts of the Brahmanic society. Even political powers recognized the social stratification of the Brahmanic order. The Brahmanic law for the regulation of the life of groups was accepted by government of the day. In the whole Brahmanic order the community was and is non-existent. As a matter of fact, there was no conception of a Brahmanic or Hindu homogeneous 'commu-

nity' in ancient India. Caste groups existed not as a homogeneous community, but as distinct elements in Brahmanic society. Oneness or togetherness of feelings and interests did not exist in reality. The imperial power ruled the country without the backing of the people in general or the 'Hindu' or Brahmanic 'community' in particular. The community representation was no principle of the imperial rule in ancient India; but the varied functional groups as distinct socio-economic entities were taken into account.

The Basis of Politics in Medieval India

Medieval India was a continuation of ancient India. In the domain of politics the imperialistic tendencies were dominant. Imperialism had to face and solve similar problems of political nature as ancient India faced and solved. Though Turks, Afghans and Mughals were on the scene, politics was determined by imperialistic laws. Turks, Afghans and Mughals did not Islamize politics.⁴ The Arabs of Sind who ruled in accordance with Islamic precepts were the only exception; but their political influence was restricted to Sind only. The Turkish, Afghan and Mughal monarchies did not care to lay down the foundation of their government on Islamic law. They followed in the footsteps of the 'Sultans' of the Islamic countries who had already formed their states on 'national' principles. Their politics was not Islamic but 'national'. They rose to political eminence at the expense of Islamic unification. The world of Islam was split up into 'national' states of distinct characteristics.⁵ The consolidation of the Islamic world was beyond their pale of 'national' politics. The Sultans as king-imperialists ruled their countries and were

after the aggrandizement of 'Islamic' territories. The fate of Islam as an universal political power was sealed.

Turks, Afghans and Mughals as Rulers

In such 'Islamic' traditions were brought up the Turkish, Afghan and Mughal monarchs of India. Their rule in India was political through and through. As sponsors of Islam in India they had nothing to their credit. The structure of their government had a deep political colouring. In their struggle for establishing a form of government in the country they succeeded in secularizing it. Religion had to be confined to its sphere of activity and influence. In the Mughal rule its secularization was an accomplished fact. In the recruitment of armies no religious bias seemed to prejudice the Turks, Afghans and Mughals as imperialists. The historical fact is that these imperialists fought many a victorious and decisive battle with indigenous armies who served their masters most loyally. The feudal 'states' too were at their service in extending their political boundaries. The connecting link between the feudal 'states' and the Turkish or Afghan or Mughal imperialism was the consideration of political protection and prestige. In matters of statecraft, the indigenous population of India was trusted. Religious considerations had nothing to do with the actual working of government. It is also a fact that these imperialists showed preferential treatment to certain groups, indigenous or foreign not on religious bias but on the sense of loyalty which they owed to the imperial crown. Communal favouritism did not form part of their policy. They counted more on political loyalty of groups irrespective of religious differentiation than communal inklings. They did not rule

over the whole people as pontiffs but as kings. Peoples of all races, colours or creeds were their subjects and they their paramount lords. The imperialist kings demanded unflinching loyalty and devotion from their people. This was the highest form of religion that appealed to them. The people were weighed not in the scale of religion but of loyalty and disloyalty. That is one of the reasons why medieval India showed no signs of communal thinking or activity. It is also an undeniable fact of socio-cultural history of our country that the imperialist kings did not inaugurate any movement on a country-wide scale to communalize the people. The people lived as they used to live without the terrors of communalism.

Islam and Its Saints

In the socio-cultural domain a very powerful factor worked for the amelioration of the people. It was Islam. Islam as a political power in India was a non-entity, but Islam as a social dynamics was a phenomenon of supreme importance. The political power ignored Islam, but the servants of Islam, Sufees and Saints, were its actual promoters. These human personalities were seething with the Koranic philosophy of life. They came to India with a definite purpose of spreading the message of God. They had no swords in their hands, but the message of peace as Islam was on their lips. They had no political axe of their own to grind, but they ground the laws of Islam. In them Islam found a dedicated humanity. They promulgated Islam as a message of peace and goodwill among the people of India. That humanism was synonymous with Islam was their ardent belief.

Bands of Sufees came to India in the medieval age for delivering the message of Islam. Though these Islamic 'workers' belonged to different Islamic schools, they were dominated by the spirit of Islam. They had all come to a strange country whose civilization and culture were different from theirs. They had no organizational power behind them, but were possessed of the power of Islam. As individuals they came and preached. Their field of spiritual activity was teeming millions of medieval India. They had no need to seek the protection of political power as they had implicit faith in the power of the Koran that guided them on the way to proselytization. To spiritualize Islamically the people of India was their cherished ideal. In order to make the people their own they identified themselves completely with them. They began to live with the people, spoke the language of the people, adopted the ways of the people, participated in the joys and sorrows of the people. Such complete identification worked wonders for Sufees as well as the people.

Islam as Expounded by Sufees

The socio-cultural history is full of anecdotes that go to prove that these Sufees and Saints of Islam were the real well-wishers of the people without the prejudices of race or creed. They eventually came to the succour of the people in their dire need and distress. That in the service of the created the best service to the Creator is done was their motto of life. Islam taught them the value of human service. The Koranic principle as a universal principle of brotherhood of man was expounded by the preachers of Islam as well. To them implicit faith in God was enough to revolutionize the whole

personality of man. Islam, as explained by them, has come to bring peace and concord among people. It stands for social justice; it awakens a new sense of humanity and finally socializes man. In their spiritual message of Islam the other-worldliness as a negation of life was discredited as unsocial. To live in the social world is to recognize the blessings of God on men. To run away from the world is to deprive oneself of the benedictions and beneficences of the Creator. To sense, feel and live God in the humdrum of life is to actualize the sublimest principle of the Koran. The spirit of the Koranic law is to sustain and sublimate social instincts and interests of man.

Sufees and Their Message to the People

The Sufees and Saints of Islam brought home to the people of India that the power of God is beneficial for the development of man and God has created the world for His creation to enjoy the fruits of its labours in a legitimate way and be thankful to its Creator. God is kind, merciful, beneficent to His creation. He is omnipotent, omnipresent and omniscient. He is also a Warner so that man may not be forgetful of his close relationship with his Creator and sets his thinking and living in accordance with the injunctions of God for his own spiritual welfare. That God is a spiritual fountain-head and a social good is a fact to be recognized by all peoples. The Koran speaks in unequivocal terms to man regarding his duties to his God and the world. The idea of godhood is not a philosophy, but a realization in life. God has made man to realize his human potentialities and to justify his existence as the creation of God. It is the interdependence of man and society on life-

promoting principles that the Koran emphasizes for spiritual and social welfare. Unshakable faith in God democratizes man and society. Such were the teachings of the Sufees and Saints of Islam. Their influence on the life of the people was sustaining and deep.

Contact of Sufees with Bhagats

The socio-cultural history of India substantiates that the whole of India was surcharged with the dynamics of Islam. In all the 'Provinces' of India not only the Muslim Saints but also the Hindu Saints, influenced by the spirit of Islam, began to popularize Islamic fundamentals. The Hindu Saints came in direct contact with the Sufees. Their human contact opened new vistas for both. The Hindu Saints were impressed with the cardinal principles of Islam and the Sufees were influenced by the sublime philosophy of spirituality as expounded by the great thinkers and philosophers of India. The Hindu Saints became the mouthpiece of Islam and the Sufees propounded the essentials of Islam in a Hindu way. For the people of India to appreciate the divine message of Islam, it was but essential to transmit it in a form that could be understandable. The Hindu and Muslim Saints transvalued man and society in the light of Islam and paved the way for the building up of a new social order. The influence of Muslim Saints on the people of India was deepened by the advocacy of Hindu Saints, who in their Hindu way idealized the basic principles of Islam. The Muslim Saints undoubtedly preached Islam; but its popularization was done by the Hindu Saints who were taken up by its spirit. The natural consequence of their common

preachings was that the religion of Islam helped in the unification—not disruption—of the people of India. The gulf of differences between Hindus and Muslims as human beings was bridged and they came closer to one another. The common Hindu-Muslim way of thinking and living resulted in keeping intact social harmonies, though the people without discrimination followed the Muslim Saints as their Pirs or the Hindu Saints as their Bhagats. In this way to accept the faith of Islam did not connote to the people that they had to negate their own cultures. Islam did not destroy the indigenous cultures of the people, but thrived on them and factually ruled out the differences between Hindus and Muslims as separate social entities.

The civilization and culture of India were no hindrance in the headway of Islam. In its acceptance and recognition Islam popularized itself. The greatest service done by Islam in India was that it deprecated the importance of social differentiation or stratification conditioned by the birth of man in a particular group or caste. The low birth of man was considered no disqualification for his spiritual development. That all men are born equal is the Islamic precept. The Sufees and Bhagats acclaimed the sanctity of human life irrespective of its social status. A high or low man by birth is unthinkable in the equation of Islam. That man is born with a social stigma was what Sufees and Bhagats condemned downright. The discriminative laws of society are against the will of God. Social justice for all men is essential, because God does not differentiate between man and man. Only he, who is more devout, is nearer to God. Thus Islam transfused ideas of social democracy in the people of India.

Sufees and Bhagats as Humanists

The movement of Islam in medieval India was similar to that of the non-Brahmanic movements in ancient India. The difference between these movements was that in ancient India the spiritualization of man without his social *milieu* was stressed, but in medieval India the spiritualization of man through a democratic society was aimed at. The Sufees and Bhagats were representatives of a new type of humanity, who worked for a closer synthesis of Islam and Hinduism. They did not idealize a communalistic 'community;' but a human community of all peoples of all denominations. It was their humanistic belief reinforced by Islamic precepts that was instrumental in the formation of a community of people irrespective of race, colour or creed. In medieval India it was a common feature of life that Hindus and Muslims became disciples or followers of Sufees as well as Bhagats without any religious compunction or bias. The transcendental personalities of Sufees and Bhagats were above race, colour, caste or creed. In them the people of all religions and of all social stratifications saw the real human qualities. It was, in fact, this human element in the dynamic personalities of Sufees and Bhagats that magnetized the life of the people and made them their true followers. In this way the life of the people was sublimated on the universal principle of humanity. Society thus was democratized with the result that the different cultures of medieval India interacted and interpermeated on a country-wide scale. The process of cultural integration was stamped with provincial characteristics. In India as a whole or in the 'Provinces' as separate territorial units, the cultural fusion was the marked feature of the

age. In the 'Provinces,' Hindus and Muslims evolved a synthesized culture whose Hindu-Muslim constituents were its strength and beauty. Despite communalistic thinking even in the India of today, Hindu-Muslim cultural forces are evident in the lives of Hindus and Muslims, which feature of their life is the indivisible legacy of the Sufees and Bhagats. It is not necessary here to dilate the point further as it has been amplified in the preceding chapters.

The fact is that the Sufees and Bhagats were no communalists but humanists as the servants of God. They had no plan or organization to work up communalism in the country. Their message was universal. Medieval India was a land of cultures, but their universal appeal to humanism on the socio-religious plane was accepted as the life-philosophy by millions of people. Though the life of the people was regulated by provincial factors, the dominant note of humanism was running all through the 'Provinces.' Its fruitful result was that Hindu-Muslim differences were minimized to a negligible point. The existence of a Hindu or Muslim 'community' as a distinct and separate social entity was no outstanding feature of medieval India.

The Birth of Modern India

Modern India, though a continuation of medieval India, seems to have changed beyond recognition. After the complete break-down of the old Mughal rule due to factors of political disintegration and decay, modern India arose. The government of the country changed hands. The old Mughal masters had gone for ever leaving behind undying memories. The new British masters were on the scene to rule India. In the earlier

stages of British rule in India the British had to face political problems. With the pace of time they controlled the political destiny of India. In the making of British India sociological factors have played more important part than political factors. British India is a country that has different peoples and different cultures. All these different peoples with their different cultures, before the advent of the British, belonged to different states of India, though these were nominally under Mughal imperial rule. They retained their chief socio-cultural traits as distinct peoples. Politically, they all came under the British rule. It is, in fact, a wondrous feat of politics to see the British rule over a heterogeneous humanity of India. The centralized power and legislation helped in cementing the foundations of British raj, in bringing these people closer to one another and in awakening a sense of political awareness and oneness in them. With British India co-exists Indian India ruled by her Maharajas, not as sovereigns but under British paramountcy. British imperialism is responsible for the formation of the political entity of India. Since 1882 onwards there has been a continual struggle for 'nationalizing' the government of the country, though it had to pass through different political stages. Under the British rule, a new India was born. During British raj the popular element in the government of the country is recognized as a *sine qua non*. In the whole history of our country no government conceded political rights to the people of India except the British. This marks a red-letter day for India.

Western Culture and Its Influence

With advent of British rule in India, new culture and civilization percolated into the life of the people. Since the introduction of English as the official language as well as the medium of instruction the impact of western culture and civilization on the cultured life of India has been deep and its effect has been of a universal nature. The present-day movements of all descriptions—political, social, religious, economic, educational and cultural—are directly the result of western ideas and institutions. Western civilization and culture serve as all-round model or guide to the progressive advancement of Indian life. The whole country seems to be on the way of westernization. This cultural contribution to India directly or indirectly is due to the British.

The influence of western culture and civilization was keenly felt in the social world of India. Movements of progressive and reactionary natures were the result of attraction and repulsion due to the impact of western culture on the Indian society as a whole. The progressive movement was a socio-cultural movement sponsored by that section of the population that had a western schooling and imbibed the spirit of western culture. This represented a new class of intellectuals who not only began to influence public life but also took leadership in its hands and became the spokesmen of the new India. This educated section of our people showed no sympathetic appreciation for indigenous culture of our country. Such westernized Indians, full of contempt for the customs and traditions of India, tried to 'reform' society on western lines. They were more inspired with English literature and English institutions—social

and political; but their ignorance in matters of their own indigenous literature and institutions was colossal. To them the old India was not only antiquated but also dying. In order to revive her, India had to be westernized. Only westernization could help India to attain a status equal to civilized nations of the world. They wanted a replica of England to be transplanted on the soil of India. With all their zeal for improving social conditions and religious ideas of the people in the light of western thinking and living, they forgot the fact that India is not England and the real progress of a country does not depend on the imposition of a foreign culture but the interpermeation and integration of cultures. Such a cultural process takes its own time of readjustment. After the decay of our old civilization, the old forms of society lost their intrinsic value in modern India as they were out-of-date.

The approach to social problems by a westernized India was too western and thus could not show wonders with all the talismanic charms of western culture and civilization. Its influence was restricted to a small group of people. As leaders of thought, the westernized Indians could not succeed in moulding the life of the people. They rose in the estimation of the government; but among the masses of people of India they held no high esteem or position. They were strangers among them. They undoubtedly were the cynosure of the rising middle-class people of India whom they influenced and dominated.

Modern India and Reactionary Movements

The other side of the picture of modern India depicts the social impress of reactionary movements. In

the social world of India powerful reactionary movements were active in communalizing the mind and the soul of the people. They were Indian in the sense that they were against the adoption or importation of foreign culture and civilization, but un-Indian in the sense that they were communal in their fundamentals. The leaders of thought, Hindu and Muslim, were among the protagonists of these movements. To them western culture and civilization was an anathema. They were inspirited with their own communal ideals. These Hindu and Muslim reactionaries not only fought against the forces of western civilization but also awakened a distinct communal sense in their communities. Each protagonist of reactionary movement—Hindu or Muslim—claimed that his community was a superior race and his communal culture of a superior type. The degeneration of his community was due to the fact that the members of the community became forgetful of their communal ideal. For Hindus the ideal of 'Hindu' India was set as the only ideal to be achieved and to be proud of. It was brought home to them that their attainments in the domain of knowledge and science were unsurpassed. They as people were not only distinct but superior to all other peoples. Their religion was the sublimest expression of humanity. The non-Hindu cultures and civilizations that influenced the life of Hindus were foreign to 'Hindu' India. The non-Hindu culture had no place in Hindu resuscitation. Such was the refrain of the Hindu communal movement.

In the same way the Muslim movement aligned itself with Islamic traditions and awakened a sense of pan-Islamism in Muslims of India. It did not put before the Muslim 'community' the ideals of 'Muslim' India of the medieval age but of Islamic countries. It complete-

ly identified itself with Islamic life as lived in Islamic countries. Before Muslims the Arabian ideal was set to revive them Islamically. The contribution of Muslims of Islamic countries in the field of knowledge and science was considered as the living heritage of Muslims of India and the Islamic culture and civilization as their 'legitimate' property. The non-Islamic culture of Muslims of India was looked upon as hideous expression of Muslim life-forms and was instrumental in de-islamizing them.

The Hindu and Muslim reactionary movements did not appreciate the inherent beauties of Hindu-Muslim culture of medieval India, but went a long way in destroying its spirit and form. The communal consciousness in Hindu or Muslim community was fostered by hammering ideas of communal distinctions and differentiations in the whole of India. To intensify communal movements, organizations of various kinds—propagandic, educational, social, religious—were started. This was the first time in the socio-cultural history of India when the lives of the people of different communities were moulded by communal organizational activities. The people as communal entities were fed with communal literature, sociology, history and religion. The whole range of communal literature emphasized the need for communalizing the 'people' on a particular plane of thinking and living.

These reactionary movements of Hindus and Muslims undoubtedly infused a new spirit of thinking and activity in the people, but their outlook and activity was narrowed by communalism. It is a social fact that these movements could not succeed in changing the sectional life of Hindus and Muslims into a homogeneous community life. On the contrary, the different sects among

Hindus and Muslims took the clue from communal movements and worked in the direction of sectional reform. Despite immense hinduization or muslimization of the people the sects in all religions of India still exist. These Hindu or Muslim sects have adopted the methods of reform as advocated by communal movements for their own well-being and progress. The centrifugal tendencies in the Indian world of religions have not been curbed or disrupted. To sum up, the reactionary movements of Hindus and Muslims have in fact, communalized the mind and the soul of the people, but failed to succeed in creating unification and solidarity in their particular communities. They have been responsible for making ideas and forms communal; but 'community' as a homogeneous expression of communal life is still a non-reality. In the India of today despite communalism each community, Hindu or Muslim or Sikh, or Christian or tribal or depressed, is a conglomeration of people of socio-cultural heterogeneous elements. The homogeneity of a community as Hindu or Muslim or Sikh or Christian or others is a contradiction in terms. What these reactionary movements have tried to achieve is the creation of a false notion of a community-existence. That the minds of the people are disturbed by communalism is a fact; but it does not prove that Hindus or Muslims or others as a community exist. They still cling to their sectional forms and different cultural patterns of life.

Communalism—A Modern Phase

Why is it that communalism is the peculiarity of modern India and failed to raise its head in medieval India? In medieval India the people of all religions

were under different political powers that culturalized their peoples on a non-communal plane. The Sufees and Bhagats, as we have already described, were the promoters of peace and concord among all peoples and also unified the life of different peoples into a new pattern of cultural integration. Even the states of medieval India quickened the pace of Hindu-Muslim cultural development. The commonness of Hindu-Muslim interests and outlooks was emphasized by the governments of the medieval age. There was no question of political rights for the people in medieval India, but the general protection of the people, irrespective of colour, race or creed, was a unifying factor in their lives. Loyalty demanded by all peoples was a political virtue and disloyalty incurred punishment for all without differentiation of creed or race.

In modern India the old political divisions disappeared as separate states and their territories formed into a British India. Such a huge conglomeration of people of different cultural units had to live under a centralized power of British India. The old binding-force of culture that was strengthened by indigenous states was no more in operation. The sociological factors of modern India have determined the socio-political existence of the people. The Hindu-Muslim culture as the basis of life was replaced by a communal culture in modern India. In the strength of a community was visualized the strength of its political power. The reason is that under British rule the people as communities have been conceded political rights to safeguard their interests. It cannot be denied that communalized movements must have been responsible for communalizing politics and government, and the British govern-

ment was made to realize the importance of communalism as the characteristic phase of the general life in India. Hindus and Muslims communalized India and the government accepted it as a *fait accompli*.

Politics in Modern India

Though the first political movement in India was started in 1885, the political tendencies in the form of institutionalizing the East India Company were perceptible in the early eighteenth century. That the East India Company pursued a policy detrimental to the interest of India was a known fact to some of the outstanding British officials in the service of the East India Company who did their utmost to 'constitutionalize' the government. It was the influence of British constitutionalism that paved the way for a democratic form of government in India. In course of time the British consciousness rose and defended India. The interference of British Parliament in matters of the East India Company was a clear indication of the fact that the government of India required regulation, supervision and surveillance by the supreme authority of British Parliament. Indian affairs were scrutinized with a view to establish good government in India. The continual interference of the British Parliament for protecting the interest of India culminated in the dissolution of the East India Company in 1857 and India came direct under British Parliament.

Parliamentary measures in regard to India's welfare and the sustained interest evinced by the liberal-minded British high officials in Indian affairs were responsible for creating strong political feelings in Indians of westernized up-bringing that the British government

had the real interest of India at heart. They began to think that the aim of the British raj was not only to protect India but also to educate politically her people so that ultimately the government of the country would be entrusted to them in the course of time. The conviction deepened to such an extent that the British government in India would confer the same political rights on the people of India as enjoyed by the people of England. The political philosophy of John Stuart Mill as expounded in his works—Representative Government and Essays on liberty—had a far-reaching influence on their mind. They gave vent to feelings that the British raj had none of the features of despotism but was an enlightened government that ultimately would introduce representative institutions in the country for the political advancement of India. In this way the government of India would be ‘nationalized.’ If the principle of political representation were not introduced, the institution of government would be a farce. Only the principle of political representation made a government real. Such were the political ideas of the advanced section of the Indian people during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

Beginning of Political Movement

The beginnings of politics in India date after 1857. The political mind of India was fed on the political philosophy of the West. It began to sense and feel politically. The whole trend of its political thinking was western or English. It expressed itself in the western way. From 1876 to 1885 the educated modern India struggled for political expression and organization in order to influence the government of the country

in the light of modern principles of statecraft, and politics. From 1885 to 1905 the whole political movement was a long protestation in regard to the slow pace or indifference of the government in changing its retrograde policy. It also aimed at bringing the heterogeneous elements of India on a common political platform so that a politically united India would become a reality. It claimed to be national in the sense that it collectively represented the Indian viewpoint and interest before the government. As it had no historic-political background, it lacked the essentials of nationalism. The elements of nationality were sought not in the actual life of the people, but were built up on artificial basis of national life. What the political movement actually did was to politicize the mind of the people of India. Though it was often proclaimed from the 'national' platform that India was a nation and the British government has awakened a sense of nationality in Indians, the fact is that the political movement did not actually propagate the ways and means by which nationalism in India could assume a tangible socio-cultural form. Nationalism as a factor in culturalizing the heterogeneous elements of Indian life was no concern of the movement. It was found wanting in its socio-cultural foundation. Even the people as its main source of inspiration and activity were conspicuous by their absence.

As a 'national' movement it was started by the westernized intelligentsia of India who keenly felt the wrong done to India. The underlying idea in inaugurating an all-India political organization was to bring about political consciousness and solidarity in the country. It strove after the usurpation of political power. The whole 'national' movement in regard to its policy and

activity was most constitutional. It shunned the path of warfare. Three p's—pray, please and protest—characterized its attitude towards the government. It never crossed the limits of political mendicancy. It brought home, in a most humble manner, the importance of indianization of the government as a step in the direction of political representation.

Political Struggles from 1905 to 1911

Since 1905 onwards the movement takes different turns. Between 1905 and 1911 many factors crept into the politics of India. The 'national' movement became aggressive. It also became anti-British in its expression and activity. The political mind of India was disillusioned and lost all faith in British justice and fair-play. The political philosophy of the West was cast aside as a useless weapon for acquiring political strength and power. India's socio-cultural heritage was given an important place in nationalizing or politicizing the movement. The people were considered as its power. It became slightly more broadbased. It was the period in the socio-cultural history of India where there was a marked revivalism in the worlds of Hindus and Muslims. Communalism in the social world appeared and influenced the political world of India also. It coloured political ideologies with communalized nationalism. In 1906 the Muslim League was started as a political organization of Muslims with a view to safeguarding their socio-cultural and political interests. In 1909 the Hindu Mahasabha saw the light. It was a Hindu organization to counteract the activities of the Muslim League and to hinduize politically and socially the people of India. In 1909 the

Minto-Morley reforms inaugurated the principle of representative government in India; but separate electorates on communal basis formed its chief features. Communalism was integrated in politics and statecraft. This was the beginning of communalized politics.

Communalism and Politics

The 'national' movement—the Congress—opposed the communal principle in the Minto-Morley reforms. The reforms worked, but created animosity and hatred among communities. The communal movements of Hindus and Muslims had at last communalized politics. The government put its seal of tacit approval on communalism. Since the inauguration of the Minto-Morley reforms, the political struggle of India is a struggle of communalism. In 1911 an attempt was made to bring about *rapprochement* between the Congress and the League on the basis of communal representation. So far as the Congress and the League are concerned the politics of India till 1940 was a tussle for the recognition of communal representation on the proportionate strength of communities. In 1928 the Nehru report was the final Congress verdict in matters of communal representation. It was torpedoed, as it did not satisfy the 'sentimental' demands of different communal sections of the people. In the Congress communal 'award' the minorities did not achieve enough political power on the distribution of proportionate representation to make their existence felt in the counsels of the government. The Congress thus accepted the principle of communalism in politics. From 1920 to the present-day the Congress movement has assumed immense dimensions. It became a mass movement and fought many a fierce battle with the

government. It is after the complete freedom of India. Its claim is to establish a democratic government in India, while safeguarding the politico-cultural rights of minorities.

The Muslim League and Politics

In 1940 the Muslim League, after passing through periods of crisis, struck a novel note in Indian politics. The communal representation as the politics of the League all of a sudden changed into a new Muslim politics. The distribution of political power on the basis of the principle of communal representation was rejected by the League. It expounded a new socio-political philosophy to serve as rocky foundation to Muslim politics in India. It is stated by the High Command of the League that democracy is totally unsuited to India, as it is a heterogeneous country while democratic systems are based on the concept of a homogeneous nation.⁶ It also asserts that "this fact is the root-cause of all India's constitutional ills.....India is inhabited by many races often as distinct from one another in origin, tradition and manner of life as are the nations of Europe. Two-thirds of its inhabitants profess Hinduism in one form or another as their religion, over 77 millions are followers of Islam; and the difference between the two is not only of religion in the stricter sense but also of law and culture. They may be said, indeed, to represent two distinct separate civilizations. Hinduism is distinguished by the phenomenon of its caste which is the basis of its religious and social system and save in a very restricted field remains unaffected by contact with philosophies of the west; the religion of Islam on the other hand is based upon the conception of

the equality of man.....They are, in fact, two different nations.”⁷ It is further asserted that if the western system of democracy is forced on India, the inevitable result will be the domination of major nation over minor nation.⁸ It also postulates that “a constitution must be evolved that recognizes that there are in India two nations, who both must share the governance of their common motherland.”⁹

The Pakistan Resolution

Through the issue of the 13th February, 1940 of the “Time and Tide,” New Delhi, the two-nation theory as expounded by Mr. Jinnah flashed across the country. In the 27th session of the all-India Muslim League held at Lahore on March 22, 1940, Mr. Jinnah in his presidential address observed that “the problem of India is not of an inter-communal character, but manifestly of an inter-national one and it must be treated as such. So long as this basic and fundamental truth is not realized, any constitution that may be built will result in disaster.”¹⁰ The Lahore session also resolved and declared that “no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, viz. that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the north-western or eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute ‘independent states’ in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.....That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities

in the units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them and in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.”¹¹

Communalism and The Democratic Principle

This resolution of the League was a bolt from the blue. India staggered, gasped and resented it. From all the four corners of the country criticisms and tirades against Pakistan poured in. The Pakistan resolution became a political gospel for the League and for others an object of denunciation. This resulted in the political tension in India. The idea underlying the resolution seems to be that the principle of democratic government on the basis of communalism will result in the domination of a major ‘nation’ over a minor ‘nation.’ In other words, communalized government as the majority party government of the ‘people’ strikes at the root of democracy. In India political parties as communal parties destroy the spirit and form of the democratic government. It is the vicious influence of communalism in the politics of India that sets at naught the actual functioning of the democratic principle. So long as communalized political groups exist in the communities of India, there can be no way out of the political impasse. The League has struck a clear note in the right direction, but its most fantastic two-nation theory has complicated the whole political issue. Politics and government

are bound to play havoc with the country, if the principle of democracy, which forms the basis of political thinking and activity, is also communalized. The rule of the majority on the democratic principle of government changes its form into a rule of powerful communal majority party in India. To ease the political situation the Pakistan formula was evolved to end the political domination of a communalized majority party.

'Pakistan' and Zonal Demarcation

As politics and government function on communal principles in India the Hindu majority community will always have the upper hand in dictating its own terms to other minority communities in socio-cultural and politico-economic matters. It is this perpetual danger in the politics of India that has been sensed by the League. To disrupt communalism in the politics and government of India, the League introduced an accentuated and virile form of communalism by expounding a new principle of nationhood. The zonal demarcation on the basis of a 'nation' is fraught with insurmountable difficulties because Pakistan, if worked out as a scheme of political planning, will have to ride roughshod over the zonal socio-political facts. The League is determined to form Muslim zones as separate autonomous political units. In their demarcation it adopts the principle of democracy, which will establish the direct rule of the majority party of Muslims over non-Muslims. This means that Muslim political communalism will fight non-Muslim communalism as a counterpart of Hindu political communalism in India.

The preceding chapters reveal the socio-political facts that the distribution of population of all religions in

all the Pakistan zones is such that it is impossible to demarcate the whole zonal territories as cent per cent Muslim. On provincial basis the overwhelming population of these zones is technically Muslim; but within zonal areas the actual distribution or dispersion of population by religion or community knocks out the theory of Pakistan. If the Pakistan scheme envisages the sheer overdominance of Muslims in politics and government, as in other parts of India the overdominance of Hindus is unquestioned, then the question needs no scrutiny; but if the League genuinely wishes to bring about political peace and progress in India on the basis of political alignment and adjustment, the question will need a new orientation.

India and the Concept of Nation

To enunciate a new theory of nationhood as Hindu or Muslim is to hoodwink the law of history that has operated in India. In the whole history of our country the Hindu or Muslim nation never ruled India. It is an undeniable fact that in the different historical periods, only different political groups as sovereign powers ruled, but to dub them as Hindu or Muslim is to misinterpret history. The emperor-kings of India were not guided by the spirit of a hinduized or muslimized nation, but the laws of politics and statecraft. The Hindu or Muslim nation, as envisaged in the scheme of Pakistan, was non-existent in the past. The conception of a Hindu or a Muslim nation or an India nation was foreign to the historic past of India. The considered view of the political thinkers is that nation is never determined by sociological factors, but the creation of a state forms

it. The ethnic, linguistic, cultural and historical elements do not constitute a nation, unless the state is created or formed. Without the state no nation exists, though it may have all its ingredients.¹²

. As there were no 'national' states in the India of the bygone ages, the problem of nationhood never arose. The paramount power in India lacked nationalizing tendencies and institutions. The provincial governments, though a replica of imperial power, promoted the growth of nation-idea without transforming themselves into national states. All peoples of the 'Provinces' were in possession of the basic elements of nationhood. They spoke the language of the Province; they inherited the culture of the Province; they followed the customs and traditions of the Province; they were politically under one government in the Province. It was the provincial territory, history, culture, language, customs and traditions that welded Hindus and Muslims into a provincial non-political but cultural nation. Hindus and Muslims as separate nations historically did not exist and even today they do not exist. The multi-coloured cultural patterns of Hindus as well as Muslims in the whole of India are a living testimony that their specific nationality as Hindu or Muslim was never a fact. The Muslim national culture was as irrecognizable as the Hindu national culture. The elements of heterogeneity among Hindus are as distinct as among Muslims. As in Muslim countries no universal nation exists, but there are many nations despite their religio-cultural affinities; so there can be no distinct Muslim nation in India simply because all Muslims follow Islam. The sociological world of India precludes the possibilities for the

formation of a separate and distinct Hindu or Muslim nation.

Political Communalism

Even communalism has not turned Hindus and Muslims into homogeneous communities. The Hindu or Muslim 'nation' is a hoax and as political cloak the idea of a Hindu or Muslim 'nation' is being worked up to a pitch of political fanaticism. Communalized politics of India has been responsible for seeking political 'escape' in a Hindu or Muslim 'nation'. It resulted in political desperation among communities. From proportionate representation to separate electorates, from communal award to Pakistan are attempts to achieve the impossible under the false theory of nation. The fact is that communalism sits tight on the constitution of India and it is being worked on a democratic principle. When the country is seething with communalism, it is dangerous to work a democratic form of government. The danger sensed by the League is not without justification; but its solution of the political problem is not in any way feasible or practical. The ideal and practice of political democracy of the West have failed to influence and dominate the political parties of India because in their organizations and programmes the communal tinge in some form or other is perceptible. Only in the complete overthrow of the principle and practice of communalism in politics and government it can be possible to tide over difficulties and hindrances in the solution of national problem.

Politics and Urban India

It is also a fact that the whole political struggle has its field of activity in urban India. Rural India is still non-political, though it has been slightly awakened by political movements. Although urban India is wide-awake politically, socially, religiously and culturally, yet it has the impress of communalism with its varied colourings. Political thought and activity are being controlled by urban classes. In urban areas the distribution of politico-economic power among communities is uneven and odd. The smallest minorities among major communities are more powerful and assertive in the control of political and economic affairs. The Hindu-Muslim friction and clash in the domain of politics, economics and statecraft is being witnessed in nearly all urban areas of India. The superiority of a community over other communities in the realm of education, trade, industry and politics is at the root of communalism. Even in the so-called Pakistan zones, especially the Provinces of Baluchistan, North-West Frontier and Sind, Hindus as a minority urban community control and dominate the Muslim population which is overwhelmingly rural. Hence the domination of the urban Hindus over the rural Muslims is a signal indication of clashes in socio-cultural and politico-economic interests in the Pakistan zones, but elsewhere Muslims are predominantly urban and Hindus overwhelmingly urban-rural where they dominate Muslims. It is not only the Hindu community as a whole, but also its powerful sections are controlling the politico-economic life in urban areas. Thus the political overdominance of Hindus in urban as well as rural

areas is a marked phase of politics in India. The continual clash of political and economic interests among communities paves the way for communalized politics in the India of today. Unless the balancing of interests, political and economic, social and cultural, is devised; no political peace or progress is possible for our country. Hindus, Muslims and others as rival political powers always will rake up strife and hostility among communities. Even the community of a particular religion will be instrumental in breeding jealousy and rivalry, disunity and discord, injustice and nepotism in intra-communal matters. The fate of India is sealed, if politics and government remain communalized.

People Essential for Politics and Governance

The solution of the political problem of India lies neither in changing the form of 'political' communalism nor in effecting promises of safeguards, checks and counter-checks nor in demarcating Muslim or Hindu zones without eliminating the elements of big or small minorities of all religions, for these are paper devices and subterfuges. The communal government will always be communal. The formulation of a new estimate of political planning and reorganization on a non-communal but functional basis can solve national issues. The people of India should form the groundwork of politics and governance. What the new India needs is the realization of the fact that the people are to be considered as vital factors in the scheme of politics and governance. In other words, they are not the representatives of communities but distributed in functional groups as people. The facts have proved that the communities have so far failed to represent the people. The functional interests

of people are not only abiding and permanent but also above religions and communities. While underestimating or ignoring them as economic group-units in politics and government communalism has made its headway and usurped the seat of authority. The people comprise different functional units or groupings among them including all shades of religions and all types of cultures. Their functional entities are non-communal but human.

The Wisdom of The People

It is high time that the significance of the instinctive wisdom of the people is realized.¹³ To ignore them as a formless mass of people and to consider politics as a rightful monopoly of the educated classes is a grave error of sound judgment.¹⁴ In politics the commonsense of the people should not be devalued before the enlightened commonsense of the few intellectualist politicians, statesmen and constitutionalists.¹⁵ "That it is never at any time a certain, a perfectly coherent, a precise criterion, will be readily admitted. But that it is sufficiently intelligible, sufficiently sound, is the necessary presupposition of all democratic statecraft. And so far as it is thus serviceable it supplies a valid standard and a valid calculus of social values."¹⁶ In espousing the cause of the people Hobson observes that "a government shall keep itself in the closest sympathy with the concrete feelings and ideas of the people, maintaining such contacts as shall enable its acts of policy to rank as substantially correct interpretations of the general will, not as the designs of a supreme governing caste or groups of interests pumped down through some artfully contrived electoral machinery so as to receive the false formal impress of the general will."¹⁷

Democracy and The People

The importance of popular participation in forming and working the government of a country is a political maxim that has been accepted by all the enlightened governments of the world. But the democratic governments have failed to determine the general will of the people on the principle of majority rule. The modern system of party politics is instrumental in foisting an oligarchic domination on democratic governments. Democracy as party government tends to become oligarchic instead of popular or national.¹⁸ There is nothing intrinsically wrong or defective in the fundamentals of democracy, but its political machinations or artifices make the government oligarchic and un-democratic.

People as Functional Units

The people symbolize the general will in the political framework of democracy, but they do not exist potentially as functional units. Democracy solely depends upon the strength of the people without recognizing their *Functions* as its vital strength. It does not represent or safeguard them as functional entities, but directly disrupts them by party politics. Unless economic principles become the foundation of a democratic government the real democracy can never be dynamic in nationalizing the life of the people. Economic democracy is, therefore, considered the basis of the government of the people as functional units. In this way the government of the country will not only be democratic but also national in the widest sense of the term as the functions of the people will influence its working and policy. Thus in the framing of the constitution for a country it is always to be borne in mind that the

people are its vital material.¹⁹ To mould this human material to fit in any tangible constitutional shape is not at all possible.²⁰ That any constitution may suit any people is a fallacy of rationalistic thinking in politics that has to be overcome in order to understand the spirit of the constitution.²¹ The people are not a shapeless mass of human material. They have their institutional forms. The foundation of the constitution has to be laid on such institutional forms.²² This alone can guarantee the fitness and stability of the constitution.²³ In other words, the nature of the constitution is determined by institutional forms of the people.

Political Rights and Economic Power

The sheer enunciation of the principle of political rights of the people in the constitution of a country does not empower them to represent themselves as economic group-units. As political power can safeguard, protect and promote the vital interests of the economic group-units of the people, so without the foundation of economic power it will be an instrument of exploitation by party politics under the cloak of the 'representation' of the people. In a true democracy the people themselves as distributed in functional group-units have to wield political power and authority. Thus the principle of functionalism will work as an all-representative principle in the working of the government. That "the basis of independence is mostly economic" is the modern trend in political thinking.²⁴

In nearly all the democratic governments of the world the idea is gaining ground that economics must determine politics, not politics economics.²⁵ The nature of economic conditions has much to do in establishing a

close connection between economics and the government.²⁶ As the solution of economic problems requires a blending of human nature and economic institutions, so the function of government is not to meddle and intrude where it is not needed but is to correct and constrain and direct and reconstruct where economic conditions fail to right themselves.²⁷ The signs of coming changes are that the principle of political democracy has lagged behind the times as it has failed to represent, safeguard and protect the interests of the people as economic group-units. In the recognition and reconstitution of economic group-units as constituents of the whole people, democracy can once again capture the imagination of the people.²⁸ "The classes within the state" must be transformed to become economic group-units as "the constituent parts and a single corporate unity."²⁹ "No mere centralization," observes Glenday, "of individuals will serve; there must be a complete amalgamation."³⁰ It is the prime duty of the government to frame a constitution not on the basis of class representation but economic group-units, so that the real interests of the people may be represented, safeguarded, and promoted. That "there must be, not a balance of power, but a community of power, not organized rivalries, but an organized common peace" is the chief concern of the government of any country. This is only possible in a democratic constitution with economic foundations. Under economic democracy the people can progress politically, socially and culturally.

Importance of Economic Interests in Politics

To bring about a 'community of power' instead of a 'balance of power,' an 'organized common peace'

instead of 'organized rivalries' it is but essential to attach equal importance and weight to rural as well as urban economic interests, as these are the two inseparable phases of life of the people. Both are economically vital and politically essential. The well-being of a country depends on the co-ordinated development of rural and urban interests. The nineteenth century did not realize the significance of the close relationship between rural and urban interests. It was industry-minded and believed in industrialization on the capitalistic system of economics. It expounded the philosophy of rank individualism as well. The socio-political thinkers of the West, after having experienced the repercussions of the industrial system on politics, government and society, began to question its validity. They think that the whole industrial system, as it is constituted, is inimical to common welfare.³¹ The capitalistic industrial organization is self-centred and individual-controlled. It fosters unjust distribution of wealth and totally ignores social responsibilities and obligations. Its power is in the hands of the few and its manipulation works havoc on the millions. Even the industrial 'bosses' influence politics and governance. Such capitalistic organization is disturbing the socio-political equilibrium and harmony. The West has realized that to let go capitalism unchecked is to invite a socio-political disaster. The governments of the civilized nations are becoming wide-awake in regard to social control of capitalistic organizations and are trying to set up a planned economy on the basis of common good.

The interdependence of all economic activities and pursuits is a fact that cannot be challenged and to ignore it in a national planned economy is to go against the

spirit of the time. The urban and rural divisions should not be considered divisions at all but as constituent parts of national life of the country and in national welfare both should count.³² Though intense large-scale industrialization is responsible for lowering the economic position of rural industry, the fact remains unaltered that the basic and the greatest industry of the world is agriculture.³³ The overdominance of industry in the domain of politics and government has thrown overboard the rightful claims of the rural world. The vital importance for the balancing of rural and urban interests in politics and governance of the country is the new order of social planning.³⁴ To make urban industry flourish at the expense of rural industry is to complicate national issues. The harmonization of urban and rural industries is aimed at in the national policy of the democratic countries, where the rural world is coming up as a political power to influence politics and government.

Rural and Urban People

Especially in Europe and America it has politicized its existence by acquiring strong representation in governments. Rural studies have disclosed the fact that rural interests cannot be protected and promoted by entrusting them to non-rural groups or powers. The rural people differ from the urban people in many ways:³⁵ Their outlook on life is rural; their class is proprietorial *par excellence*; their income is composite; their economic interests are permanent; their group is distinct from any urban class because of greater homogeneity in the agricultural community; the differences in social mobility between the urban and rural population are too obvious; they have less comparative inter-

occupational mobility and also less territorial mobility than urban class which is vertical and mobile; the social and political mobility is more conspicuous in urban class than in rural people; the differences in social differentiation and stratification are less in rural community and more in urban class; the nature of the occupations remains the same for all strata of the agricultural population; while it differs radically in urban classes.

Importance of Rural Interests and Rights

In other words, it means that the rural community is a functional group as well as a specific type of social group and in no sense are rural people incapable of collective thought and action.³⁶ It is in part at least a territorial group.³⁷ "The great problems of rural communities," remarks Ross, "are human rather than merely materialistic. That is to say, they are economic, social and political and they cannot be understood without attention being given to their historical evolution."³⁸ It is also observed that "the foundation of the rural community is the co-ordination and accommodation of people and interests in the performance of definite functions and that community organization provides the machinery by which it is accomplished."³⁹ The need for a planned co-operation of rural and urban economic activities is the urge of new politics so that the government of the country may truly be nationalized.⁴⁰ So long as there is domination of urban interests over rural interests, the problem of a stable government cannot be solved. "When there is under-development of one and over-development of another, wise statesmanship should give more attention to promoting and expanding the rural

industries than urban industries" because agriculture is a primary industry.⁴¹ The rural problems demand a different type of statesmanship.⁴² That the rural population is the most stable element in the national life of the country is an undeniable fact.⁴³ Theodore Roosevelt, the President of the United States of America, once remarked that "the great rural interests are human interests.....The time has come when it is vital to the welfare of the country seriously to consider the problems of farm life. So far the farmer has not received the attention that the city worker has received and has not been able to express himself as the city worker has done. The problems of farm life have received very little consideration and the result has been bad for those who dwell in the open country and therefore bad for the whole nation."⁴⁴

The rural problem as tackled by the democratic governments of the world finds its solution in the recognition of political rights and privileges for the rural community as distinct and separate from urban classes. In forming or working the government, the political voice and participation of the rural world is considered vital for national welfare.

India—A Rural-Urban Problem

The real political problem of India is not the problem of communities but a rural-urban problem. The political factors of communities in the framework of the constitution of India have complicated national issues. As these have not been able to represent, protect and promote the vital interests of the economic group-units of people, the constitution as such has brought about the political deadlock in India. As communalism is

embedded in the constitution of India, so the welfare and progress of the people as economic group-units thus have been hampered. The economic and socio-political interests of communities have not been harmonized or integrated, but have resulted in clashes. If peace and progress may be desired in the realm of politics and government, the overhauling of political principles in the constitution of India is urgently needed. The people of India as economic group-units should form the foundation of a new constitution to be built up on the principle of functionalism. In this way the political problem of India can be solved in the interest of her people.

The People of India as Economic Group-Units

Who are the people of India? They are those who are distributed in the multifarious economic occupations. They function through and live in the economic group-units. Their functional occupations are above race, creed or communalism. The principle of functionalism in politics and government will automatically destroy the spirit of communalism and lead to the strengthening of bonds between people and people. As the people are solely dependent upon economic functions for their livelihood, so the principle of functionalism will help in the development and progress of the economic life of the country and preclude the possibility of exploitation by the few political 'bosses' who wield influence and power in politics and government without protecting and safeguarding the vital interests of the people. The principle of functionalism will be instrumental in nationalizing politics and government as well because of the rule of the people as economic

group-units. All functional interests have political bearing because economics and politics are inseparable. All economic group-units are of national importance; but the country has to determine the specific value of different economic group-units in the working of government from the point of view of national welfare.

Urban India vs. Rural India

In the India of today only urban interests are dominant in the shaping of politics and government. The rural interests are overlooked and ignored and do not play any part in moulding or guiding the policy of the Government. This fact establishes the complete domination of urban India over rural India. The economic interests of urban India are not by far the sole economic interests of the whole India. Rural India has a greater claim for an effective and weighty political representation than urban India because India is, in fact, predominantly rural. Its interests are different from urban interests and cannot be represented, protected or promoted by non-rural political power.

A 'Ruralized' Constitution

Only rural India can represent, protect and promote its interests by ruralizing politics and government. In the framing of a new constitution for India, it should have full rights and powers. As rural India is a distinct territorial economic function and all other functions of urban India are dependent upon it, so a 'ruralized' constitution is a desideratum. In the planned economy and reorganization rural India is to be considered as the true base of urban India. The introduction of the principle of functionalism in rural and urban India for the real

welfare of the people is a dire necessity of the times. It will undoubtedly put an end to the Hindu-Muslim strife and clash because in the 'Pakistan' zones the overwhelming Muslim rural population will not be dominated by the predominant Hindu urban population. If the principle of functionalism is accepted, then the general domination of Hindus over Muslims will cease for ever and it will sound a death-knell of communalism in India.

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